



Daily Report

East Europe

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Izetbegovic Sets Demands at Geneva Briefing

LD2501175893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1550 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Geneva, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—Bosnian Muslim Leader Alija Izetbegovic said at a press conference in the Palace of Nations in Geneva today that he will continue to take part in the Geneva negotiations for as long as there is a ray of hope for peace and for achieving his goals.

For him these goals include preserving Bosnia-Herzegovina's sovereignty and territorial integrity and its multinational, cultural, and religious character

Izetbegovic heaped an avalanche of accusations against Serbia and Montenegro. According to Izetbegovic, the two "have carried out aggression against the independent, sovereign, and internationally recognized state of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which has caused 200,000 dead civilians, 1.5 million refugees and 10,000 rape cases."

Despite all this, Izetbegovic said, the Muslim side has undertaken to take part in the negotiations at the insistence of Vance and Owen and despite the fact that "war criminals" are also attending.

The leader of Bosnian Muslims is of the view that nothing has been done with the map of Bosnia-Herzegovina. He does not accept, even temporarily, division according to an ethnic principle since, in his interpretation, it would mean that some provinces would have to stay under the control of "an army which indulged in ethnic cleansing." The ethnic approach will create unnatural entities, Izetbegovic said, and went on to express disappointment that the conference "has legitimized the conquest of territories through war."

Izetbegovic insists—almost as an ultimatum—on strict implementation of UN Security Council resolution 752 which envisages placing heavy weapons under effective international control. The leader of Bosnian Muslims goes even further and asks for "physical control" as the sole path toward peace and of conducting the conference without pressures.

Izetbegovic is for a modern state with minimum institutions to guarantee its functioning as, exclusively, an integral state.

Izetbegovic reiterated his statement yesterday that he needs arms. He condemned the international community for being half a year late with military intervention and for not lifting an embargo on arms deliveries to his government. In conclusion he said that he expects the new U.S. administration to "redress the injustice."

Cosic Warns of War Escalation

LD2601094793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0015 GMT 26 Jan 93

[Text] Geneva, 26 Jan (TANJUG)—Ambassador Vladimir Pavicevic, head of the Yugoslav mission to the

United Nations in Geneva, late last night conveyed to Cyrus Vance, cochairman of the Geneva conference, a verbal message from FRY President Dobrica Cosic, saying that the situation in the territory of the Republic of Serbian Krajina has dangerously deteriorated.

The message stresses that Croatian forces pounded Benkovac, Obrovac and Islam Grcki with heavy artillery, which resulted in huge casualties and many people leaving the area. President Cosic warns in his message that constant attacks by the Republic of Croatia are threatening to escalate into a large-scale war, but that even in such circumstances the Yugoslav side is doing everything to refrain from a military action. Cosic at the same time tells Vance that Tudjman violated the Vance plan and he therefore asks Vance to exert his influence on the UN Security Council to adopt a resolution condemning Croatia's aggression as soon as possible.

Responding to the message, also through Ambassador Pavicevic, Vance asks Cosic to keep Yugoslavia refraining from military action, and tells him that he is in constant contact with the Security Council. Cosic sent the same message to Vance through Milan Panic, who held lengthy talks with Vance in Geneva yesterday afternoon.

Dispute Over Maps Reported

AU2501220693 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Report by Momcilo Blagojevic from Geneva—recorded]

[Text] Differences between the positions of the three warring sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina about the draft of maps for the 10 proposed provinces are too large. Therefore, the cochairmen of the Geneva conference, Cyrus Vance and David Owen, still do not intend to convene a plenary session of the delegations headed by Radovan Karadzic, Alija Izetbegovic, and Mate Boban. This was what Fred Eckhard, conference spokesman, told this correspondent this evening, thereby confirming that these consultations about maps will continue in bilateral meetings. Cyrus Vance and David Owen will have with individual delegations tomorrow. These talks will begin at about 1100 with a meeting Vance and Owen will have with the members of the Serbian Republic delegation headed by Dr. Radovan Karadzic.

In reply to this correspondent's question of whether the cochairmen intend to take some steps with a view to convening an urgent Security Council session that would discuss the dangerous situation created in the wake of the Croatian aggression against the Republic of Serbian Krajina, Eckhard replied negatively. He said, quote, that No, the cochairmen are not going to take such a step. At this moment, it is not their role to make any recommendation to the Security Council in that respect. End quote.

Montenegrin Foreign Minister Miodrag Lecic has found himself on the expanded list of today's meetings in the

Palace of Nations, with the political leaders and officials from the territory of the former Yugoslavia. It is being speculated there that he may demand the support of the cochairmen to lift the international economic embargo against Montenegro.

Owen Remains Optimistic

LD2501135493 Belgrade TANJUG in English
1339 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, Jan. 25 (TANJUG)—Cochairman of the Geneva conference of the former Yugoslavia David Owen said on Monday [25 January] he believed no genuine war would break out between Serbia and Croatia despite the fighting in the Republic of Serbian Krajina (RSK) which erupted last Friday.

"The heat has come out of this and if we can get talks going between the Croats and the local Serbs in Croatia that would greatly help ease the situation," Lord Owen said.

On January 22, Croatia launched an offensive on the RSK which has been under U.N. protection since last March. Serbs formed the RSK on the predominantly Serb-populated areas within Croatia's administrative borders as their response to Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia.

The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, comprising Serbia and Montenegro, made it clear immediately after the Croatian aggression that it would protect and defend the RSK if the U.N. failed to do so, which is envisaged in the Vance plan signed also by Yugoslavia.

Lord Owen said the developments in the RSK should not undermine the Geneva talks on Bosnia-Herzegovina which has for ten months been ravaged by a civil and religious war between the local Moslems, Serbs and Croats. "We are making progress, strangely, despite all the Croatian incident...so there is a little more hope than you might have expected in the circumstances," Lord Owen said. However, he added, he "would certainly not exclude military pressures" to end the civil war if the peace efforts failed.

Issue of War Crimes, Punishment Discussed

93BA0483B Belgrade NIN in Serbo-Croatian 25 Dec 92
pp 30-31

[Article by Svetlana Djurdjevic-Lukic and Aleksandra Bilanovic: "The Prospects of a Nuremberg Trial"]

[Text] Last week in Geneva, U.S. Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger announced on behalf of his government the names of leaders "who directly controlled persons who committed war crimes and who perhaps issued orders to carry out those crimes": Zeljko "Arkan" Raznjatovic, Vojislav Seselj, Drago Prkac, commander of the Omarska camp, and Adem Delic, commander of the Celibici camp. Eagleburger at the same time called for Slobodan Milosevic, Radovan Karadzic, and Ratko

Mladic to finally explain in what way they have taken action to prevent and punish the bestialities committed by their subordinates, as international law requires them to do.

In the preliminary document on violation of the Geneva Convention which the United States submitted to the United Nations on 22 September, accompanied by a request to form an international commission, General Ratko Mladic, Zeljko "Arkan" Raznjatovic, Lieutenant Colonel Popovic, commander of the Manjaca military camp, and Major Mirko Hristic of the HOS [Croatian Defense Forces], commander of the camp in Capljina, were mentioned by name.

A report of Helsinki Watch in August, entitled "War Crimes in Bosnia-Herzegovina [B-H]," in its 158 pages gives the names of nine leaders of Serbian paramilitary forces, Serbian politicians, and members of the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] "on whom there is sufficient evidence to institute an investigation to establish whether they committed war crimes in the former Yugoslavia." They are Blagoje Adzic, Dragoslav Djokan, Mirko Jovic, Radovan Karadzic, Slobodan Milosevic, Ratko Mladic, Zivota Panic, Zeljko "Arkan" Raznjatovic, and Vojislav Seselj.

None of these allegations have had any effect whatsoever with the local public.

The widespread violation of all the standards of the law of war and the horrifying atrocities have been taking place virtually before the eyes of the public from the very outset of the conflicts on the territory of the former SFRY. Following the first wave of astonishment and disbelief that such outbreaks of cruelty were occurring in Europe at the end of the 20th century, the reaction of world public opinion has been taking on ever more definite shape. After the suffering of civilians in Vasa Miskin Street in Sarajevo, unprecedentedly severe sanctions were introduced against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY]. UN Security Council Resolutions 764, 771, and then 780 made it incumbent upon all states and organizations to file documents related to violation of the law of humanity, and then a special UN commission of experts was also formed to analyze the information submitted.

All of these actions were above all aimed at applying pressure to the belligerents to put an end to the unprecedented torture of the civilian population and themselves to begin to investigate violators of humanitarian law in their midst. But the assumption that these documents, by virtue of their emphasis on the thesis that crimes cannot and will not go unpunished, will frighten and deter anyone is obviously invalid, because the crimes are continuing. The idea that the mere naming of individuals as possible war criminals will result in their being completely morally discredited within the country and in the world, as was the case at one time with Kurt Waldheim, also has little chance. Zeljko "Arkan" Raznjatovic, for example, who has been mentioned so many

times, is right now celebrating his election as a deputy in the republic Assembly, even before the results have been announced officially. At the same time, he is declaring that he is not worried about Eagleburger saying that he is a possible war criminal. "There are people in the United States of whom I might say the same thing, but still I do not say it." Vojislav Seselj also will not only be protected by deputy immunity, but he also is the president of what seems to be the second strongest political party in Serbia.

The politicians referred to as the inspirers of crime also put the international community in an ambivalent situation: On behalf of negotiations concerning peace and the future political solution of the conflict, one cannot renounce contacts with the national leaders which those on the other side would be so glad to see openly excommunicated.

Collective Guilt

Against all logic, the government here is not showing the slightest desire to remove the burden of collective guilt dumped with full force on the Serbs. The only way to do that would be individual court trials of known violators of the laws of war, who certainly exist even on the Serbian side. So far, however, there have been no such trials. We have learned unofficially that several trials are actually being conducted before military courts against members of the former JNA, but the top military leadership does not want to present that to the public.

Dr. Konstantin Obradovic, assistant federal minister for human rights, recalls that legislation of the SFRY honored the obligation of all states to incorporate and apply the Geneva Convention on Humanitarian Law. All states are required either to try violators of humanitarian law themselves or extradite them to another country, even if they do not have a treaty on extradition with that country, because this kind of activity is harmful to the interest of the entire international community.

"Our courts have a duty to immediately begin the prosecution of war criminals regardless of whether they are our own citizens or belong to the other side. In the law, it is not important whether he belongs to a people who has been persecuted or a people which was the attacker. This is referred to as the equality of the belligerents, because even a victim of aggression cannot use that fact as an excuse for committing savagery against the other side in response. Instructions have been issued to our courts, and in an agreement with the republic authorities an effort is being made to ascertain violators of humanitarian law. But this is a matter for the public prosecutor and the courts themselves, and the federal government has no direct powers here," Dr. Obradovic told NIN. His personal opinion is that it is better, more worthwhile, and more favorable for our courts to institute such proceedings as soon as possible against all persons under suspicion who are within our reach.

As to the filing of criminal charges against Prime Minister Panic for releasing or exchanging a perpetrator of

war crimes in Croatia, Mr. Obradovic says that files were first compiled on all the suspects and one copy was turned over to the Croatian side and the other remained with us, and we are sending it to the competent people in the United Nations, and there will be no possibility for those persons to avoid punishment.

At the same time, the Croatian side, for example, has loudly pronounced that it has instituted proceedings against about 500 Croats suspected of violating the laws of war and humanitarian law. Most of the suspects, of course, were very quickly acquitted, such as the perpetrators of the crimes at Koranski Most, but the propaganda impact in the West was achieved. Back in August 1991, the Croatian public prosecutor also sent out a circular seeking documents on war crimes, which is being worked on systematically, the United Nations is being constantly flooded with material, and supposedly all of \$17 million are planned for those purposes.

Organization

On the other side, the JNA was to some extent involved in gathering material before its withdrawal from Croatia and B-H, and then this was left with the Serbs in the krajinas and Bosnia-Herzegovina, where there is not even the minimum of the necessary organization and resources. Basic things are lacking, beginning with cameras for photographing the victims, and proceedings have been politicized by constant demands for linkage to sufferings in World War II and for guilt to be established, because the Serbian people was attacked and forced to defend itself. A number of crimes committed against Serbs will remain unproved, because the international recognized methodology is not respected in proceedings—forensic pathologists of the International Red Cross, the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force], or any other foreign experts are not called in. The report of the State Department, for instance, is based only on statements of U.S. journalists and eyewitnesses from the field made to U.S. citizens to whom Serbs, of course, turn in extremely small numbers.

Nebojsa Jevric, a newsman who in reporting from the battlefield is not only well-informed, but has often been a witness of events, has told NIN:

"The stories about Serbian crimes are overblown. The Serbs like to talk about their crimes, while the Croats keep quiet and go on working. That is the main difference between the Serbs and Croats. The stories about the 3,000 civilians Arkan killed and about Seselj as a war criminal are nonsensical. Seselj does not know what war is, nor has he smelled a weapon, much less killed anyone. Arkan on the other hand did not kill 3,000 civilians in Bijeljina, which is what Eagleburger and people like him are accusing him of, but between 42 and 47 armed men who could seriously have threatened the Serbian population there. When the Serbs get drunk, they let their imagination run away with them, and they imagine that they have killed many Muslims and committed various savage acts. For instance, a young Serb boasted to me

that he had set fire to Croats while they were alive in a Croatian village. I lost three days to get to that village, and when I got there no one had heard about the savage acts.

"Also, the Serbs are incredibly poorly organized when it comes to the media. The world media are attributing to them many crimes committed by the Croats or Muslims. For example, I was present at an event when the newsmen of a certain world television station took pictures of Serbian victims who had been utterly massacred, and later those same corpses were shown on their television station as 'slaughtered Croats.' There are countless such examples."

A Drop in the Ocean

An exhibition on genocide associated with documents from the period 1941-45 has been organized in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, there has been a symposium of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts on genocide with no great specific effect, and a 41-member state commission appointed by the SFRY Assembly before it was abolished never seriously got going. Its secretary, Milan Bulajic, disputed the work based on UN Resolution 771 of the intersector group of the federal government formed in October, which for 20 days gathered documentation on about 130 cases of grave violations of the laws of war and humanitarian law and sent it on to the United Nations.

Perhaps the most committed institution in gathering documents on war crimes is the Serbian Orthodox Church. Church officials, for example, Bishop Vasilije of Zvornik and Tuzla, have sent detailed reports to the Synod of the Serbian Orthodox Church, and Bishop Atanasije Jevtic of Zahumlje and Hercegovina has sent U.S. congressmen a detailed report on the sufferings and tribulation of the Serbian people on the soil of Hercegovina. On the basis of data collected in that way, a publication appeared in February on war damages committed against the Serbian Orthodox Church in 1991, which was issued jointly by the Information Ministry, Culture Ministry, Bureau for International Scientific, Educational, and Technical Cooperation, and Bureau for Protection of Cultural Monuments of Serbia. The publication was illustrated with a large number of photographs, and it was published even in English. But all this

is a drop in the ocean. When it comes to war crimes, however, the Serbian Orthodox Church is taking a fairly conciliatory and indefinite position, but it would seem this is the only possible one for an institution of its nature.

"The official position of the church is that no crime should go unpunished whether committed on the Serbian, Croatian, or Muslim side," says Radovan Bigovic, professor in the School of Theology.

"The church as an institution does not have the right or the power to condemn anyone before he is given the opportunity to repent. That does not mean, of course, that criminals should go unpunished. But their punishment is not in the domain of the church. It is hard for me to talk about war crimes, because it is difficult to condemn anyone and suspect anyone, even if only morally, without clear evidence that he has committed a crime."

At the moment, everything is in the hands of a special commission of legal experts of the United Nations. Mr. Kalshoven, the chairman, says that this commission will not investigate who is to blame for the war and why it occurred, but only individual perpetrators of crimes. But this offering of an opportunity, which, as Eagleburger emphasizes, "many have not earned," has a limited life. The circle is slowly getting smaller.

"The desire that has existed since the Nuremberg trial to set up a permanent international court to punish violations of humanitarian law seems to be getting closer to realization. The political division between East and West has vanished, and it is the war in the former SFRY that has invigorated this idea and given certainty to its realization," NIN was told by Dr. Vojin Dimitrijevic, professor at the law school and expert for international law.

In other words, as Mr. Nayer, director of the Human Rights Watch [as published], has said: "At this point, there is greater agreement on creation of a court for war crimes than at any time since the Nuremberg trial."

The Nuremberg trial, we must recall, was imposed on Germany when it had been completely defeated militarily, when all its government structures had been abolished, and it had surrendered unconditionally.

Ministers Discuss Foreign-Held Korunas

AU2601104593 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
23 Jan 93 p 2

[Interview with Czech Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik and Slovak Finance Minister Julius Toth by Lubo Rabay in Cejkovice; date not given: "For What Do Germans Need Korunas? One Question for Two Ministers"]

[Text] We have learned from well-informed sources close to diplomatic circles in Prague that more than 16 billion Czechoslovak korunas are deposited in German banks. Can this fact have an influence on the monetary split between the Slovak Republic and the Czech Republic? We asked this question in Cejkovice [site of the latest round of Czech-Slovak talks on the division of former federal property] of Slovak Finance Minister Julius Toth and Czech Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik.

[Toth] This is the German banks' problem, because the Czechoslovak koruna is not convertible.

[Rabay] Has there been pressure on the part of German banks to delay the separation of currencies until they rid themselves of these otherwise unusable stocks?

[Toth] No one has held any talks with me on this issue to date. If someone tried to raise the issue, I would perhaps consider discussing it.

[Kocarnik] I do not lend much credence to this piece of information. I do not know why German banks should have purchased korunas. This money does not yield any profit, and they cannot turn it over. I am not suggesting that there cannot be a certain sum of our currency abroad. However, in this case the bank's estimate seems to be exaggerated. The money could be in some private exchange bureaus but not in banks registered under the banking system.

[Rabay] Could this be money earmarked for use in the Czech Republic by third persons?

[Kocarnik] I do not rule that out. It could be used, for example, for goods purchases....

[Rabay] Can this fact influence the timing of the currency separation?

[Kocarnik] We do not avail ourselves of such indications.

Slovaks Hold Millions Worth of Czech Stock

AU2201150493 Prague CTK in English 2026 GMT
20 Jan 93

[Text] Prague Jan 20 (CTK)—The Czech Republic must be reconciled to the fact that Slovak privatisation coupon-holders obtained 19 billion crowns (655 million USD) more of Czech enterprises' stock than vice versa, the chairman of the Czech Fund of National Property Executive Committee, Tomas Jezek, said in a CTK interview today.

Jezek added that he now believes that the coupon (large) privatisation should have been separated in the two republics much earlier. Even the then Slovak Premier Jan Carnogursky wanted it divided at the start, in the beginning of last year, Jezek said.

Czechs, Slovaks Agree on Further Customs Measures

AU2501193293 Prague CTK in English 2306 GMT
21 Jan 93

[Text] Prague Jan 21 (CTK)—Representatives of the Czech and Slovak Governments, their customs directorates, and of freight forwarders have reached an agreement today on several primary customs policy proposals to be submitted to both republics' governments for approval.

One proposal concerns the creation of green light zones allowing freight inspected inland to pass Czech-Slovak borders without an additional inspection.

Another proposal deals with a simplified customs declaration on the origin of goods which would not have to adhere to common international standards.

All goods containing 51 or more components imported from elsewhere should be from now on considered only by the country of completion when imported into the Czech or Slovak Republic. Importers from one republic should be allowed to freely import spare parts from a third country without having to pay duty in the other republic.

The talks were held in Cejkovice, South Moravia, close to the Slovak border. Simultaneously with the customs discussions, talks were also held on the division of federal property. Among those attending were the Czech Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik, Transport Minister Jan Strasky, Vice-Governor of the Czech National Bank Jan Vit and Slovak Finance Minister Julius Toth, Transport Minister Roman Hofbauer, Privatisation Minister Lubomir Dolgos and the special government representative for the division of federal property, Belo Bosak.

Berov Reaffirms No Military Role in Bosnia*AU2501191693 Sofia BTA in English 1557 GMT 25 Jan 93*

[Text] Sofia, January 25 (BTA)—Bulgaria will not commit its armed forces in any form whatsoever to a possible EC or NATO peacemaking operation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Prime Minister Lyuben Berov confirmed this position to the press before today's regular cabinet meeting. "We support the efforts of the EC to achieve a peaceful settlement of the conflict," Prof. Berov said, adding that he himself doubts the logistical effectiveness of a possible military intervention. "A tangible effect there may require a half a million strong Army, but as no such contingent is available, I do not believe that an intervention can settle the exceedingly complicated problems of Bosnia and Herzegovina," the Bulgarian prime minister said.

Berov Meets With EC, Other Envoys*AU2501195093 Sofia BTA in English 1745 GMT 25 Jan 93*

[Text] Sofia, January 25 (BTA)—Bulgarian Prime Minister and Acting Foreign Minister Prof. Lyuben Berov today received Ambassador Thomas O'Sullivan, head of the delegation of the EC Commission to Sofia, at the latter's request. Prof. Berov emphasized that the forthcoming signing of the association agreement initialed in December 1992 will be an important step towards a better future for both Bulgaria and united Europe, the Foreign Ministry spokesperson said. Ambassador O'Sullivan indicated that the EC Commission will support Bulgaria and the Bulgarian Government and will help expand and apply the cooperation programmes. He said he was optimistic about the first moves in the implementation of Bulgaria's Europe agreement after its signature. The signing date is just a matter of technical details, Mr. O'Sullivan told Prof. Berov.

Prof. Berov today received the outgoing Ambassador of Spain to Bulgaria Mr. Joaquin Perez Gomez, the Foreign Ministry said. Prof. Berov singled out Bulgaria's consolidating market economy and the forthcoming signature of the agreement on this country's associate membership in the EC as economic and political prerequisites for more vigorous bilateral relations. Ambassador Perez Gomez expressed his profound satisfaction that he had witnessed Bulgaria's peaceful transition from totalitarianism and democracy and assured Prof. Berov that his country would keep working for more active bilateral relations.

In his capacity as acting foreign minister, Prof. Berov today received the Ambassador of Yemen to Bulgaria Mr. Ali Monaser Muhammad, the government press office reported. Ambassador Muhammad expressed his country's desire to expand and promote bilateral relations and stressed his government's readiness for specific action in this direction.

Government Urged To Declare Yugoslav Stance*AU2501171793 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 20 Jan 93 p 6*

[Commentary by Atanas Matev: "There Is Such Feeling"]

[Text] Three weeks ago KONTINENT asked the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to state our country's position vis-a-vis the conflicts in former Yugoslavia. We have not received a reply, nor does it appear that we will receive one soon.

No specific refusal is involved in this case. On the contrary, we have received assurances that an answer will be provided quickly, because it is a matter of "a single day's work." However, it appears that something is happening at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and for the time being KONTINENT can publish the positions of many countries vis-a-vis the conflicts in former Yugoslavia, but not our own country's official position.

Why is this so? Elementary logic requires that the events that are unfolding to the west of Bulgaria should be a matter of first-rank importance for Bulgarian foreign policy. It is strange that such a position had first to be prepared. It should already have existed for a long time. This in itself evokes alarming thoughts. No less alarming is the time it takes to prepare a position toward the Yugoslav conflicts.

It is well known that the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has various cadre problems. Also well known is that every state has foreign policy problems on which it must maintain a permanent position and a readiness to resolve them, independent of specific persons.

"Do you not have the feeling that we appear unprepared for a final examination on the foreign policy in the Balkans?" Slavi Pashovski asked in his open letter, in which he withdrew his candidacy for the post of foreign minister.

Yes, such a feeling exists.

Ukraine Agrees To Supply Fuel, Power*AU2301205993 Sofia BTA in English 2016 GMT 23 Jan 93*

[Text] Sofia, January 23 (BTA)—Deputy Prime Minister Valentin Karabashev returned from Kiev this evening, bringing along an agreement on the supply of 2.5 million tonnes of coal and 2,000 million kilowatt-hours of electricity to Bulgaria in 1993. "The loading and shipment of the coal is starting today," Mr. Karabashev said on his arrival.

Bulgaria will be paying dollars for the coal and electricity at prices which the deputy prime minister described as "normal" and "consistent with the international levels." It was agreed that Ukraine will use the proceeds from the Bulgarian import to buy Bulgarian goods.

The delegation took the opportunity to specify further trade and economic cooperation between Bulgaria and Ukraine, which "has been quite neglected over the last year or two," Mr. Karabashev said. A telephone conversation between Presidents Zhelev and Kravchuk last week was instrumental for the success of the talks, the deputy prime minister said. The Bulgarian-Ukrainian Commission for Trade and Economic Cooperation is scheduled to hold its first session in Sofia in February. There, the sides will build on the common understanding reached in Kiev, Mr. Karabashev said.

Cabinet Approves Trade Agreement With Vietnam
AU2501215193 Sofia BTA in English 2036 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 25 (BTA)—At its regular meeting today, the cabinet approved a draft agreement on trade and economic cooperation with the Republic of Vietnam, which owes Bulgaria 111 million transferable rubles. The government agreed that Vietnam could repay its debt in goods and will specify the forms of these deliveries at its next meeting.

The cabinet members authorized Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov to negotiate an agreement on cooperation with the Ministry of Defense of India.

The government decided to close down the National Museum of Political Parties and Movements as from February 1, 1993.

The Council of Ministers approved a report by Deputy Prime Minister Valentin Karabashev on his visit to Ukraine last week. Mr. Karabashev reached agreement on Ukrainian deliveries of 2.5 million tonnes of coal and 2,000 million kilowatt hours of electricity to Bulgaria in 1993.

Turkish Military Delegation Continues Visit

Turkey 'Uneasy' Over Balkans Crisis
TA2501161293 Ankara ANATOLIA in English 1540 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, Jan 25 (AA)—Turkish Land Forces Commander Gen. Muhittin Fisunoglu, who is currently on an official visit to Bulgaria, said on Monday [25 January] that Turkey felt uneasy because of the tense situation in the Balkans. Fisunoglu, speaking after meeting with a Bulgarian delegation, said Turkey wanted peace in the region with the help of the United Nations.

He said the negative atmosphere that has existed since the Second World War had created a situation unfavorable to both Turkey and Bulgaria.

Fisunoglu said Turkey wanted peace and positive relations with its neighbors but added that problems could only be solved with good intent and by coming together.

Fisunoglu is expected to return to Turkey on Thursday [28 January] after meeting Bulgarian Chief of Staff Lyuben Petrov.

Meets Petrov, General Staff

AU2501214993 Sofia BTA in English 2038 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 25 (BTA)—The visiting delegation of the Land Forces of the Republic of Turkey, led by Army General Muhittin Fisunoglu, met today with the Chief of General Staff of the Bulgarian Army Colonel General Lyuben Petrov, the Defense Ministry Press Center said. The sides expressed a shared desire for wider contacts. General Petrov recalled the importance of the Edirne document for future military contacts between Bulgaria and Turkey and said that the signing of a similar document with the Greek General Staff was forthcoming. The document will contain a package of confidence- and security-building measures.

Meets Defense Minister

AU2601113893 Sofia BTA in English 1115 GMT 26 Jan 93

["Bulgaria, Turkey Expand Military Contacts"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 26 (BTA)—"The Bulgarian-Turkish military contacts outdistance bilateral diplomatic ties in some respects," Defence Minister Valentin Aleksandrov said at his talks with the commander of the Turkish Land Forces, Army General Muhittin Fisunoglu. The Turkish military delegation arrived in Bulgaria at the invitation of the commander of the Bulgarian Land Forces, Lieutenant General Lyutskan Lyutskanov, on January 24.

General Fisunoglu today familiarized the Bulgarian defence minister with the major results of the concluded reorganization of the Turkish Land Forces. The sides expressed a shared willingness to bring the contacts between the Turkish and the Bulgarian Armed Forces to the level of combatant officers. Both Mr. Aleksandrov and his Turkish guests were unanimous in assessing the common Bulgarian-Turkish border as a real border of peace. The sides stressed their shared desire to establish stable friendly relations with all Balkan nations.

The Turkish military delegation is expected to visit the Bulgarian 3rd Army Headquarters in Sliven (central Bulgaria) later in the day today. A visit to the Vasil Levski Higher Military School in Veliko Turnovo is scheduled for tomorrow.

German Military Delegation Arrives 25 Jan

AU2501194693 Sofia BTA in English 1608 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 25 (BTA)—At the invitation of the General Staff of the Bulgarian Army, a delegation of the

Bundeswehr's Logistical Support Service, led by Brigadier General Rode, arrived here today on a visit within the framework of military cooperation with the Federal Republic of Germany.

The Defense Ministry said that the purpose of the visit was to establish contacts between the two armies' logistical support services, to share experience and consider cooperation opportunities in combat service support.

Authorities Waiting To Stop Serbian Tugboat

AU2501215393 Sofia BTA in English 1930 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Vidin, January 25 (BTA)—The State Shipping Inspectorate in Vidin (northwestern Bulgaria) is standing by for the Serbian tugboat Bihac, which has been reported sailing upstream the Bulgarian section of the River Danube for a couple of days now. The Serbian tugboat with six tanker barges probably carries about 6,000 tonnes of fuel.

The head of the State Shipping Inspectorate in Vidin, Mr. Vladimir Tsankov, told BTA that the ship was located near the town of Oryakhovo at 11:45 hrs today. Mr. Tsankov assumes that the convoy will sail past Lom at midnight and will then stop until the next night before sailing past Vidin. The State Shipping Inspectorate was ordered to place itself at the disposal of the customs authorities in Vidin and Lom and of border guards in the region. By 18:30 hrs today, the local inspectorates in Vidin and Lom had not received further orders on how to proceed if the ship defied the challenges to stop. The chief of the Vidin customs post, Mr. Nedyalko Yolov, told BTA that a permit from the UN Sanctions Committee and an order from the border guards were needed to halt the ship by force. No such orders had been received so far, Mr. Yolov said.

Lieutenant Colonel Khristov of the Vidin border guards told BTA that the commander of the Vidin border guards and the Romanian border commissioner met at the Vidin border checkpoint at 18:30 hrs today to specify the plan of action to stop the Bihac. Experts say that it will be difficult to force the ship to stop.

Tug Reaches Serbia

AU2601121493 Sofia BTA in English 1200 GMT 26 Jan 93

["Embargo-Buster 'Bihac' Sails Past Vidin"]

[Text] Vidin, January 26 (BTA)—The Serbian tugboat Bihac with six tanker barges, carrying 6,000 tonnes of diesel fuel, sailed past the port of Vidin at 1215 hrs today and is already in Serbian territorial waters, according to experts. The skipper did not react to signals to stop given by a State Shipping Inspectorate patrol boat. A REUTERS crew photographed the passage from another patrol boat.

Prahovo, the first Serbian port, is 50 km upstream from Vidin.

The ship, which journeyed mostly by night, sailed past Lom at 0015 hrs on 26 January, BTA learnt from the state shipping inspector on duty at Lom, Seryozha Yosifov.

The skipper did not respond to the Inspectorate's calls and signals. A special patrol boat of the Inspectorate's post in Lom, carrying ten representatives of the Inspectorate, the Regional Directorate of Internal Affairs, the Customs Service, the border checkpoint and three officials of the UN Border Control Group, approached the Bihac and signalled it to stop, using a blue light and a siren, but the ship did not react and sailed on.

The convoy spent the night at the 767th kilometre. At 0930 a.m. the State Shipping Inspectorate posts at Lom and Vidin had no information about its location. Presumably, it was somewhere between the islands, waiting for nightfall to sail west.

The state shipping inspector on duty in Lom reported that the Ruse Inspectorate had information that two other Serbian ships with convoys of diesel fuel tankers entered Bulgarian territorial waters. The Delifit sailed past Silistra (northeastern Bulgaria), pulling eight barges. The second ship is Orasat, and a third one is expected to enter the Bulgarian sector of the Danube today.

Defense Minister Explains Personnel Reform

AU2501182693 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 22 Jan 93 p 7

[Interview with Valentin Aleksandrov, minister of defense, by Milcho Tomov; place and date not given: "The Vacuum in Defense Leadership Was Threatening the Army's Foundations"]

[Text] [Tomov] Mr. Aleksandrov, why did you accept this post, which is prone to hazards? You are not a member of parliament and, in the event that the cabinet should soon fall, you are hardly likely to be offered the prestigious position of secretary of state once more.

[Aleksandrov] I accepted the post out of a sense of duty. I fully realize that this is the first and last time I will be serving as minister. How long the cabinet will last—this is not my concern. As long as it is in office, I shall serve. However, the vacuum in the defense leadership which has persisted over recent months was beginning to threaten the Army and its leadership's moral foundations and should not be allowed to continue.

[Tomov] You started by repealing orders which undermined the authority of the military personnel. Does your critical approach to some recent actions mean that you would reinstate certain high-ranking officers who had the necessary professional qualifications, but did not suit the former leadership?

[Aleksandrov] I was not consulted about the notorious Order No. 332. I learned about it after it became public knowledge. I intend to revise only a very few more acts, being convinced that it is important to preserve internal

continuity within the Ministry of Defense. It is not my intention to reinstate anyone who belonged to the leaderships of the past. This question is closed as far as I am concerned.

[Tomov] Is it worth supporting the idea of redeploying our military units, considering the tremendous financial expenditure involved, as well as the dramatic effects on our officers, sergeants, and their families?

[Aleksandrov] Actually, redeployment is absolutely necessary because Bulgaria is going over to "a circular defense system" and no essential military units will be stationed north of the Balkan mountains. Considerable financial resources are required, in fact. However, since this operation is expected to be carried out in different stages, the expenditure can also be incurred gradually. There is no question of dramatic repercussions upon the social status of our sergeants, officers, and their families. The first announcements caused some tension, but it has passed. Our career officers have understood the necessity of the measures and I have been informed that there are no more problems in this respect.

[Tomov] Which of the bills on the Bulgarian Armed Forces would you support?

[Aleksandrov] The question of defense bills is complicated and I have already declared that I have not reached a final decision, but I will see to it that those draft texts which most effectively respond to the Armed Forces' interests should be submitted to parliament.

[Tomov] Are you ready to be a guarantor in overcoming the controversies between the General Staff and the Ground Forces Command?

[Aleksandrov] I am the guarantor in overcoming controversies. In fact, controversies with the General Staff no longer exist. As far as the Ground Forces Command is concerned, some corrections are necessary in this respect, and they will be discussed at the Supreme Military Council.

[Tomov] The Rakovski Officers' Legion definitely supported your nomination as defense minister. Will you, unlike your predecessor, support the ideas of the legion, and accept it as a legitimate officers' organization?

[Aleksandrov] It is my firm conviction that the status of the Rakovski Legion should be settled by the new Armed Forces Act. I have already done everything necessary in this respect.

[Tomov] Do you think that an officers' elite could be established in our country and that the prestige of the military could be restored? And if so....when would you expect this to happen?

[Aleksandrov] It will happen by all means, but it is a long-term process. An officers' elite is primarily based on the awareness of belonging to an elite organization. This is not the case today, and it requires great efforts, not only on my part, but on the part of our whole society.

[Tomov] Should a Bulgarian officer have to take an additional job in order to guarantee his family's living standard?

[Aleksandrov] Definitely not. I am against such practices, and I am convinced that they are incompatible with Bulgarian officers' honor. We should promptly and efficiently solve the problem of Bulgarian officers' living standards. Bulgarian officers have never coveted "money and luxury," but I am convinced that the nation should guarantee an appropriate living standard for its protectors, who watch over our national security. The officers of combat units should receive higher wages than those serving in the administrative departments of the Armed Forces. This question should be resolved as soon as possible.

[Tomov] Do you intend to rely on your own judgment or will you seek advice? Would you rely on military experts attached to the president's office?

[Aleksandrov] The Ministry's problems are collectively discussed, but I am responsible for the decisions. I have selected highly qualified deputies and heads of departments. I would not hesitate to seek advice on matters I am not familiar with, but being solely responsible, I make my own decisions.

[Tomov] Are the almost daily cabinet sessions interfering with your military tasks?

[Aleksandrov] Government sessions do sometimes really interfere with my work, and this was true in particular of the early period of getting acquainted with the defense departments. However, I can always rely on my deputy ministers. Mr. Khandzhiev has twice stood in for me at cabinet sessions. Naturally, together with my experts, I shall attend all the meetings on major military issues.

New Police Chief Introduced to Staff

AU2501214893 Sofia BTA in English 2040 GMT 25 Jan 93

[“Today”—BTA headline]

[Excerpt] Sofia, January 25 (BTA)—Mr. Stoyan Ganev, president of the 47th Session of the UN General Assembly, who was invited to attend President Bill Clinton's inauguration ceremony in Washington D.C., conferred with Senator Claiborne Pell (Dem.-R.I.), chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and with members of the committee. They discussed the development of the Yugoslav crisis and possible ways for its settlement.

Interior Minister Viktor Mikhaylov today introduced Colonel Ivan Batsarov, 47, the newly appointed director of the National Police Force, to the personnel of the directorate, the police press center reported. Colonel Batsarov is a career policeman and has been working in the force for 25 years. Taking office today, he told his subordinates that he will count on professionals and that they should rest assured that they would not lose their jobs. [passage omitted]

Minister Visits FRG To Discuss Migration Issue*AU2501155393 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech
21 Jan 93 p 2***[Report by "hop": "Radar Wall Or Agreement"]**

[Text] Prague— Czech border guards have intercepted 628 people at the Czech borders since 1 January (583 of them were trying to leave the republic, mostly in the direction of the FRG, only 45 heading for the Czech Republic). According to the current penal code, illegal border crossing is classified as a misdemeanor and is dealt with by a reprimand or a fine. The inadequacy of this punishment is borne out by the case of a Vietnamese who has crossed the "green" border 49 times.

The Germans are protecting themselves against the influx of illegal refugees by building radar walls and preparing rigid laws. One bill ought to be discussed by the Bundestag this spring. Under it, the Germans would be entitled to return all foreign nationals who illegally cross the border from a third safe country and to whom the German authorities have not granted asylum. "Minister of the Interior Jan Ruml left for Bonn yesterday to familiarize himself with the ideas of the German side on how to deal with problems regarding illegal refugees and immigrants. This is only an informative meeting and no agreement will be signed. The meeting's agenda also includes treaties on cooperation in combating international crime that have been signed with Germany by the Federation," Jan Subert, the Interior Ministry's press spokesman, told us yesterday.

According to information from the Ministry of the Interior, the Czech Republic intends to protect itself against the influx of illegal refugees by applying a more rigid visa policy against the Balkan states, the CIS republics, and the countries of Southeast Asia. However, the introduction of this measure depends on the government's political decision.

Havel Opposes Sudeten German Restitution Demands*AU2501193093 Prague CTK in English 2036 GMT
21 Jan 93*

[Text] Prague, Jan 21 (CTK)—If Vaclav Havel is elected president of the Czech Republic, one of his first steps will be to initiate further talks with the German Government about compensation for Czech victims of Nazism.

Havel announced this today at a meeting with Liberal Social Union (LSU) deputies. He said that the German Government has already promised to establish a foundation for the purpose of compensation, but that no specific steps have yet been taken.

Havel said that he believes that the matter of the transfer of Sudeten Germans from Czechoslovakia after the end of World War II is closed from a legal standpoint, and that it is not possible to meet the restitution demands of the Sudeten Germans. The transfer was the result of the war and carried in itself all the bad that it brought about,

including the principle of collective guilt. Legal claims, however, do not ensue from the fact that I spoke about it in this way, he said.

In a discussion about how he understands the role of the president, Havel said that it is not the president's duty to decide on everyday policies, but that he can give his opinion. I will make my opinions clear at the right moment, in the right way and in the right place, he said. At the same time, he stated that he agrees with government policy, but recommends that greater attention be devoted to the economy. He mentioned the need to work out an energy programme, and said that a programme of economic policy could limit high unemployment.

The LSU deputies were the third group, after the Czechoslovak Social Democrats (CSSD) and the Movement For Self-Governing Democracy in Moravia and Silesia (HSDMS), with which Havel has recently met.

New Republic Recognized by 95 Countries*AU2501160193 Prague CTK in English 1359 GMT
22 Jan 93*

[Text] Prague, Jan 22 (CTK) — The Czech Republic so far has been recognized by and established diplomatic relations with 95 countries worldwide, according to the Czech Foreign Ministry.

In the past 10 days, additional 17 countries recognized the Czech Republic, including Armenia, Burma, Belarus, Benin, the Philippines, Qatar, Kenya, Cyprus, Kirghizstan, Malaysia, Moldova, Nepal, Paraguay, the Seychelles, United Arab Emirates, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan.

According to the Czech Foreign Ministry, Czechoslovakia, on the day of its disappearance, had diplomatic ties with 166 countries.

The ministry expects the Czech Republic to eventually maintain relations with the same number of states, citing temporary communication and procedural difficulties as the reason for the incomplete number of recognitions at this point.

Property Division Accord To Be Signed With Slovaks*AU2501154493 Prague CTK in English 0956 GMT
22 Jan 93*

[Text] Prague, Jan 22 (CTK) — The agreement on property division should be signed by the premiers of both the Czech Republic and Slovakia sometime next week, said Czech Minister of Finance Ivan Kocarnik after a meeting of the intergovernmental commission for the division of federal property in Cejkovice, South Moravia, late last night.

Kocarnik said the commission was able to come closer to agreement on several of the disputed points, but that others remain until the meeting of the premiers. Basically, he said, the division of all federal bodies, with the exception of the

office of the president, is clear. Registration of movable assets of the office of the president is being verified.

We also discussed the balance of the former state bank, which presently has 22 to 23 billion korunas (\$660 million to \$690 million) profit of the Czech Republic. Slovak Minister of Finance Julius Toth believes that this sum will be further lowered to approximately 18 billion crowns (\$540 million) before the final division. The Slovak side proposes that the remainder be redeemed by means of Slovak National Bank Bonds. The bonds would be redeemed in convertible currency and would mature after a certain period, Kocarnik said.

The Slovak gold reserve was again discussed, he said, but the views of both sides remained unchanged. Questions of dividing returns of coupon privatization were also not agreed upon. The Slovak side announced that in its opinion this question was closed with the division of the federation.

Kocarnik said that he expects the property division agreement to be signed on time as long as both sides try to compromise.

Toth said that the agreement was 99 per cent completed at the commission meeting, and that the two premiers could sign the agreement next week or within a very short time.

In two hours we went into almost all the disputed matters, so the Slovak side is satisfied, he said.

Parliament Discusses Election Procedures

*LD2601115393 Prague CTK in English 1049 GMT
26 Jan 93*

[Excerpt] Prague, Jan 26 (CTK)—The election of the first president of the Czech Republic is the only point on the agenda of the 2d session of the Chamber of Deputies of the Czech parliament, which opened in Prague today.

The deputies have first to approve the election procedure. A majority of parliamentary parties and the chamber's organisation committee favour a secret ballot. The election is scheduled to start at 1500.

Three candidates run for the post of Czech President. Vaclav Havel, former Czechoslovak president, was nominated by the government coalition parties.

Marie Stiborova was nominated by the deputies' group of the opposition Left Bloc (which is made up of the Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, KSCM, and the Democratic Left of Czechoslovakia).

Miroslav Sladek was nominated by the deputies' group of the opposition Assembly for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party (SPR-RSC).

An absolute majority of the votes of all deputies to the 200-seat chamber, or 101 votes, is required for the election in the first round. The coalition parties have a total of 105 seats in the chamber.

The first Czech president will be elected in a secret ballot, deputies decided today. This method of election, recommended by the organisation committee of the Chamber of Deputies, was supported by 150 deputies, 39 were against it. The chamber has 200 seats.

The secret ballot was opposed mainly by deputies from the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL) and the Christian Democratic Party (KDS), and some deputies from the Civic Democratic Party (ODS). All the parties are members of the government coalition.

The chamber is now discussing a draft election order for the secret ballot. [passage omitted]

Article Outlines Presidential Powers

*LD2501183893 Prague CTK in English 1303 GMT
25 Jan 93*

[Text] Prague, Jan 25 (CTK)—The term of office of the president of the Czech Republic, whose election will take place at the 2d session of the Chamber of Deputies of the Czech parliament on Tuesday, January 26, is five years.

Any citizen of the Czech Republic above 40 is eligible for election. The president can hold the post for two consecutive terms at the most.

Under the Czech Constitution of December 16, 1992, the president is empowered to appoint and dismiss the premier and other members of the government and to accept their resignations.

The president convenes sessions of the Chamber of Deputies and can dissolve the chamber under strictly defined circumstances.

He also appoints the judges and functionaries of the Czech Constitutional Court, the chairman and deputy chairman of the Supreme Court, and the president and vice president of the Supreme Inspection Office. The appointment of Constitutional Court judges requires approval by the Senate, a second house of the parliament, which has not yet been created.

The president signs laws and has the right to return to the parliament laws that have been passed, with the exception of constitutional ones.

The president represents the state in foreign relations, is the chief commander of the armed forces, concludes international treaties and ratifies them, appoints the heads of diplomatic missions, calls parliamentary elections, appoints judges, appoints and promotes generals, awards distinctions and has the right to dispense amnesty. All these steps require the signature of the premier.

The president has the right to attend sessions of the two chambers of parliament and of the government.

He cannot be detained and legal proceedings cannot be started against him for a misdemeanour or other tort. But he can be prosecuted for high treason.

The powers of the Czech president are smaller than those of the heads of state in countries with the presidential system where the president is at the same time the supreme representative of executive power, like in the United States. But they are greater than in states in which the key position is held by the chancellor who heads the government, like in Germany or Austria.

Unlike the former Czechoslovak president, the Czech president has not the right to put forth legislative initiatives.

Privatization Minister Reviews Progress

AU2501192493 Prague CTK in English 2109 GMT
21 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 21 (CTK)—As of January 1, the Czech Republic Privatisation Ministry has undertaken the selection of 3,029 privatisation projects for 1,871 enterprises, Czech Minister For the Administration of National Property and its Privatisation Jiri Skalicky told a press conference today.

So far, in the first and second wave of the large privatisation, 16,609 projects have been submitted involving 3,368 enterprises, Skalicky said. In addition to 299 enterprises for which all privatisation projects were rejected, there are 5,768 projects for 1,468 enterprises not yet processed by the ministry.

Skalicky said that small privatisation would definitely be concluded this year as would the second wave of large privatisation in the agricultural sector. The full-scale privatisation of health facilities would also begin.

In cooperation with the Finance Ministry we want to determine the property to be included in the second wave and launch the process, Skalicky added.

The ministry has also proposed that all environmental damages attributable to privatisation should be defrayed by the Fund of National Property. The fund is the government banker for privatisation. However, Skalicky said that payments could be made only if the Environmental Protection Ministry formally orders them.

[Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech on 22 January on page 1, under the headline "Slovakia Is Willing To Compensate For the Results of the First Wave of Privatization," carries a 700-word "(do)"-signed report on the same news conference. The report quotes Privatization Minister Jiri Skalicky as saying the following: "The Slovak Republic has accepted the Czech point of view that it is necessary to compensate the Czech side for the results of the first wave of coupon privatization.

"The difference between our viewpoints, however, is most evident in calculating these results. According to Slovak calculations, the first wave placed Slovak investors at an advantage amounting to 0.8 billion korunas, while the Czech side estimates that 19 billion korunas worth of property is involved here.

"Nevertheless, the Czech side regards the Slovak willingness to discuss this issue and seek a solution to it as a positive sign, and is hopeful that a solution will be found."]

Republican Leader Sladek Condemns Klaus

AU2501193493 Prague CTK in English 1425 GMT
21 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 21 (CTK)—Miroslav Sladek, chairman of the extremist Assembly for the Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party cornered journalists in the Czech parliament who were boycotting his press conference and lashed out with a stream of insults, which soon became directed at Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus.

Even if you stand on your heads, I am going to continue with this campaign, which I have been leading for three years and which has been successful. You can lick Vaclav Klaus' a—, he may even enjoy it, judging from his pronunciation, Sladek said, derogatorily referring to the Czech premier's muted speaking style.

Sladek's invective caught the journalists by surprise, most of whom had decided on Monday [18 January] to boycott the press conference at which Sladek was to announce his candidacy for the Czech presidency.

This was in response to a statement by Sladek, who, during a visit to the Romany (Gypsy) community of North Bohemia, taunted them, saying journalists are not people. Sladek, who supports the forced repatriation of some Romanies to Slovakia had wanted to meet with Romany representatives in the absence of the press.

Deputies Favor Vaclav Havel for President

LD2501144393 Prague CTK in English 1257 GMT
25 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 25 (CTK)—Vaclav Havel is the favourite in the Czech Republic's first presidential election, according to indications from the Czech Parliament's individual groups of deputies.

The election of either of the other officially proposed candidates, Marie Stiborova and Miroslav Sladek, would be very suprising.

The Czech president will be elected by members of the parliament's Chamber of Deputies at its 2d session on Tuesday, January 26. In the course of the session, other candidates for the post can be still proposed, with every proposal needing support of at least ten deputies. The positions of individual groups of deputies suggest that no more candidacies are likely to be submitted.

The chances of former Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel, 56, are strengthened by his being proposed by the four parties of the governing coalition: the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), the Civic Democratic Alliance (ODA), the Christian Democratic Party (KDS) and the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party (KDU-CSL). In the 200-seat Chamber of Deputies, where at least 101 votes

are necessary for a candidate to be elected in the first round, the government parties have 105 seats.

Last week the five-member Independent Liberal Club and most of the 16 deputies from the Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party (CSSD) also expressed their support for Havel. It is not clear, whether Havel will be supported by deputies from the Liberal Social Union (LSU) and the Movement for Self-Governing Democracy of Moravia and Silesia (HSDMS). Chairmen of the two groups of deputies did not rule out that the groups will let their members vote independently.

Havel is unlikely to be supported by the deputies from the Left Bloc (LB) and the Assembly for Republic-Czechoslovak Republican Party (SPR-RSC), as each of them has proposed its own candidate. The LB's candidate is Marie Stiborova, and the SPR-RSC has proposed its chairman Miroslav Sladek. The LB has 35 seats in the chamber, the SPR-RSC 11 seats.

Former ODS Federal Deputies' Activities Viewed

AU2501193893 Prague CTK in English 0916 GMT
22 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 22 (CTK)—Today's Czech newspaper comments focus on the activities of former deputies of the now defunct federal parliament elected for the ruling Civic Democratic Party (ODS).

According to the daily CESKY DENIK, the former ODS federal deputies have recently got an unsigned document criticising the current situation within the ODS and its leadership. The document calls for convening an extraordinary party congress.

Jiri Honajzer, an ODS Czech parliament deputy, writes in the paper that the calling of an extraordinary congress may have been discussed by the ODS' former federal deputies at their Wednesday's [20 January] meeting. However, other unnamed ODS deputies told the daily that the activity of the ODS' former federal deputies has no chance of succeeding because they cannot win support of all ODS members.

Referring to the same issue, MLADA FRONTA DNES writes that since long the ODS has no longer been a party of one man and appeals of some federal orphans reluctant to disappear in the political abyss might be favourably responded not only by radical ODS members but also some of its leaders who think that the star of the ODS chairman and Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus is shining too bright, the daily writes. Some of the discontented former federal deputies in the ODS leadership could be pacified and given profitable posts in the state administration. But what about the others who do not want to change their political attire for a clerk's cloth, the paper asks. It adds that the latter might become a constant source of potential infection threatening to demoralise first the ODS and then the whole government coalition.

Milan Uhde (ODS), chairman of the Czech parliament's Chamber of Deputies, writes in the daily TELEGRAF that the former federal deputies are very bitter about the situation because the ODS Republic Council has charged its members to establish the Senate, an upper house in the Czech parliament, by transferring them to the Senate. I understand their disappointment because this has not been done, Uhde says.

Papers Fuel Currency Separation Speculation

AU2501193693 Prague CTK in English 1304 GMT
22 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 22 (CTK)—As speculation on the division of the Czechoslovak crown into separate Czech and Slovak currencies continues, the Czech dailies RUDE PRAVO and LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE both fuel rumours that the split is imminent, citing pressure from the Czech Republic.

RUDE PRAVO, leading off with an article headlined "Currency Division in the Offing?" stands by the quote it attributed to Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar last week, in which Meciar says that division will occur within a month.

It further cites as evidence Wednesday's [20 January] statement by a department head at the Czech National Bank, M. Kucera, in which Kucera says that only a quick and efficient currency division will restore stability to the exchange mechanism. Last week, banks in Austria and Germany announced they were stopping transactions in crowns, heightening fears that Czechoslovak legal tender had its days numbered.

The paper, writing that one can with the greatest probability guess the date of the division, proceeds through some logical deduction to come up with educated guesses for its readers. RUDE PRAVO, citing practical reasons, writes that the shift should occur over a weekend and more precisely predicts January 30-31 or the next weekend, February 6-7 as the most likely dates.

According to the daily, this upcoming weekend is out of the question, as the Slovak National Bank's governing board is in Washington to meet with International Monetary Fund officials. The next two weekends, however, are the most likely, before most people receive their next salary around February 10. During this period, money in circulation will decrease, making it easier for banks to exchange the public's present Czechoslovak crowns for newly-stamped bills bearing republic markings.

Governments in both republics have announced that should the currency division occur earlier than the original summer target date, as now seems almost certain, citizens will be able to exchange their banknotes for specially-marked temporary notes, while the Czech and Slovak Republics wait for their permanent new currencies to be printed.

During the first couple of days of the exchange, citizens in both republics will be able to exchange money they hold outside of bank accounts for new bills, up to an as yet undisclosed sum. Beyond this sum, they will have to wait to change the remainder of the amount, though both Czech and Slovak Governments have guaranteed that in the end, no one will suffer all outstanding money will be exchanged with no loss in holdings. Money in bank accounts will be automatically exchanged.

LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE quotes a Czech National Bank spokesman as saying that the Czech Republic has already stamped over 20 billion crowns (690 million USD [U.S. dollars]) in banknotes, or the amount necessary for an eventual division.

The spokesman is further quoted as noting that Czech hard-currency reserves have dropped by 100 million USD recently, though he declines to attribute this to increased hard-currency purchases by a jittery public.

LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE contrasts the situation in the Czech Republic, with that in Slovakia, whose national bank, it writes, is attempting to push back the date of division. It cites as evidence Slovakia's request to postpone a meeting of the Czech and Slovak National Banks' governing boards to February 1, due to the Slovak delegation's trip to Washington, led by the Slovak National Bank's Vice Governor Marian Tkac. The Czech National Bank Spokesman is quoted as remarking that he is surprised by the move and reasons cited, since the Slovak National Bank's vice governor was not needed at the Czech-Slovak talks anyway.

No Separation Before February

*AU2501154793 Prague CTK in English 1359 GMT
22 Jan 93*

[Text] Prague, Jan 22 (CTK) — Division of the Czechoslovak koruna into two separate currencies will not take place before the end of January, said Josef Tosovsky, governor of the Czech National Bank.

Tosovsky told CTK today that the bank is taking technical and organizational steps in preparation for the execution of the separation, and it may be said that these steps are complete. We are coordinating everything with our Slovak partners, and this also demands a certain amount of time.

He said that citizens should put their identification documents, particularly those showing permanent residence in the Czech Republic, in order. Whether or not the citizens will be able to request money exchange will depend on this.

An advantageous result of this exchange is the decrease of the amount of cash which people keep at home, Tosovsky said. It is not good to keep tens of thousands of korunas at home, he said, adding that when exchanging stamped money, the Czech National Bank will not be able to accept such large sums.

He said that there is no need to panic, as there is still time to deposit money into accounts.

Exchange of stamped money will be carried out for a period of time until an assigned deadline. If citizens have not yet exchanged their money by the end of the period, the money will be invalid. I can guarantee citizens that the exchange of money for stamped notes will be at a rate of one to one, he said.

Currency Reserves Decline to \$3.2 Billion

*AU2501192293 Prague CTK in English 1658 GMT
21 Jan 93*

[Text] Prague, Jan 21 (CTK)—According to today's statement by Czech National Bank spokesman Martin Svehla, hard currency reserves of the Czech Republic have declined from 3.3 billion USD [U.S. dollars] to 3.2 billion USD in the last three weeks.

Most of these reserves are held by Czech commercial banks.

In addition, another 400 million USD was sold by the Central Bank to commercial banks in this period in order to help them improve their hard currency position and settle accounts abroad, Svehla said.

The Czech National Bank currently holds 500 million USD. It should not continue to sell anymore hard currency acquired in the division with Slovakia. It considers the situation stabilised, Svehla said.

He added that the hard currency evolution was very similar in Slovakia. The Czech and Slovak restrictive currency policies now proceed decidedly more cautiously than during the last year, Svehla said.

There is only one way to deflect the ongoing speculation having a negative impact on the common Czech and Slovak currency and that is a prompt separation of that currency, Svehla concluded.

Bank Says Not Enough Currency Stamped for Division

*AU2501160993 Prague CTK in English 1820 GMT
22 Jan 93*

[Text] Prague, Jan 22 (CTK) — The Czech National Bank (CNB) has about 23 billion korunas (about \$770,000,000) stamped to date, but this amount is not sufficient for a smooth process of the Czechoslovak currency's division, CNB spokesman Martin Svehla told CTK today.

About 100 billion korunas (about \$3,300,000,000) have been put into circulation, while convenient amount for the process of division would be 75 billion korunas (\$2,500,000,000), Svehla said.

According to him, it is impossible to identify the amount of currency currently circulating among citizens. This amount changes with every purchase, Svehla added.

Boosting Contingent in UNPROFOR Proposed

AU2501160793 Prague CTK in English 0930 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] New York, Jan 22 (CTK) — Slovak foreign minister held diplomatic talks here yesterday with United Nations (UN) Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali and other UN leaders, on expanding the role of Slovak peacekeeping troops in the former Yugoslavia and opening a UN Information office in Bratislava.

Slovakia has proposed expanding the Slovak contingent serving with UNPROFOR troops in the former Yugoslavia to 500 men, and separating it from the current Czecho-Slovak battalion.

Slovak Foreign Ministry Press Spokesman Roman Buzko said the offer was not an empty gesture, but a genuine desire to share in UN Duties. This offer is valid and the security council can count on it, he emphasized.

Knazko also discussed the possibility of the UN opening an information office in the Slovak capital. Up to now, the UN has kept a base in Prague, which served the former Czechoslovakia. Assistant secretary General Eugeniusz Wyzner said the main issue is funds, since the UN is currently giving priority to opening offices in some former Soviet Republics. He also pointed to the UN's nearby office in Vienna. The Slovak foreign minister expressed Slovak interest in taking part in its operation.

Knazko and Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec attended ceremonies on January 19 marking the induction of the independent Czech and Slovak Republics into the international organization.

Meciar Forced To Postpone Judge Appointments

AU2601083593 Prague CTK in English 1635 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 21 (CTK)—The National Council of the Slovak Republic passed a resolution shortly after 1630 today recommending that the naming of judges to the Constitutional Court of the Slovak Republic, which was to take place at 1700 at Bratislava Castle, be postponed.

Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar was to appoint the judges in place of the Slovak president, as one has yet to be elected. Opposition deputies, however, pointed out the fact that according to the Slovak Constitution, the power of the president to name judges to the Constitutional Court cannot be transferred to the premier.

Meciar Appoints Justices

AU2601083893 Prague CTK in English 2059 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 21 (CTK)—Some two hours behind schedule, Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar has

named 10 justices to the Slovak Constitutional Court at a Bratislava Castle ceremony tonight.

In lieu of a Slovak president, it is in my powers to appoint you the justices of the Slovak Constitutional Court, Meciar told the judges.

When asked by CTK why the ceremony did not take place as scheduled, Meciar refused to answer.

Shortly before the original time, 1700, the Slovak parliament passed a resolution requesting Meciar to postpone the appointments, explaining that the republic's constitution gives the powers to name the Constitutional Court solely to the Slovak president. That post is still vacant.

Meciar Questions Investigation of Dubcek's Death

AU2501160493 Prague CTK in English 1129 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 22 (CTK) — I may be indiscreet to say that in an eye-on-eye discussion, former Federal Premier Jan Strasky asked me how we, the Slovaks, would react to pardoning Alexander Dubcek's driver involved in Dubcek's car crash on September 1, Slovak Premier Vladimir Meciar said on Slovak radio last night.

Meciar said that the investigation of the health condition of the driver, Jan Reznik, has been unproportionately protracted. He added that the same applied to the elaboration of an expert analysis of Dubcek's car crash, which occurred some 80 kilometers from Prague.

Dubcek, leader of the Prague Spring reform movement in 1968, federal parliament chairman from the fall of the communist regime in late 1989 until July 1992, and federal parliament deputy after the June 1992 elections, died December 7, 1992, of the injuries he had suffered in the car crash. He was 71.

Meciar also said that he had asked Strasky and former Federal Interior Minister Petr Cermak to explain why Reznik had been assigned the job of Dubcek's driver.

Before, Reznik was the driver of the former Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Rudolf Filkus who dismissed him due to reckless driving, Meciar said.

He said he was interested to learn how a driver who had had difficulties at the Slovak Interior Ministry, could be accepted all of a sudden by the Czechoslovak Interior Ministry.

Knazko Addresses UN General Assembly

AU2501123593 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 20 Jan 93 pp 1, 13

[TA SR report: "Slovakia Is in the United Nations"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

From the Speech Delivered by Milan Knazko

In the introduction to his speech and on behalf of the citizens of the Slovak Republic, Milan Knazko thanked the Assembly for our admission into the family of United Nations Organization members. He declared that the remarkable constitutional and legal changes were invoked by our desire to regain national liberty and to bolster our identity. The Slovak Republic's incorporation into international life is an expression of our endeavor to actively participate in implementing integrative processes as a full-fledged member of the international community. This opens up the possibility of direct involvement in pan-European integration and worldwide cooperation. This is an endeavor to adapt ourselves to development trends for the third millennium.

Resolving our constitutional and legal problems was the epitome of a democratic course of action and was an illustration of mutual tolerance and political goodwill. The transition from a federation to sovereign republics was unique on account of its noteworthy political dignity and its unrivaled execution and also on account of the search for and adherence to constitutionality and harmony. It was a test of our maturity and level-headedness.

The Slovak Republic has become one of the successor states to the former Federation not only in the formal legal sense, but also in continuing the democratic traditions that we created by our activity in the field of international diplomacy. Incidentally, a Mr. Stefan Osusky, a Slovak diplomat, was one of the cofounders of the Community of Nations, the predecessor of today's United Nations Organization.

This is not the first time that we acknowledge the aims and principles of the United Nations. Almost 50 years ago—on 1 September 1944—the Slovak National Council declared that the Slovak nation supports the allied nations who, by means of their struggle and great sacrifices, are providing all nations, including our small nation, with a guarantee of a free and democratic life.

The Slovak foreign minister emphasized that UN activity today is unparalleled. He said that cooperation among the world community is essential if we are to resolve the problems—security, economic, environmental, and local—facing today's world. The Slovak Republic is resolved to involve itself fully in this cooperation as a regular member of this most important world forum.

The Slovak Republic is taking on the commitments and rights pertaining to UN member countries at a time when it is also assuming its responsibilities within the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe Troika, which has already been constituted as a regional body in accordance with Chapter 8 of the UN Charter.

Minister Knazko then emphasized Slovakia's determination to involve itself in the activity of the international specialist organizations that form part of the UN system.

He expressed his appreciation of the fact that the UN forum and its extensive network of international agencies also gives smaller nations—including Slovakia—a chance to actively participate in dealing with the topical issues of international life. He also said activating the UN's role in resolving international conflicts and in eradicating flash points of tension, the institute of peace-keeping operations, and UN activity aimed at seeking a peaceful solution to disputes are all spheres in which Slovak diplomacy would like to become actively involved and participate in organizing in harmony with Security Council resolutions.

We will observe human rights, including the rights of ethnic minorities and ethnic groups, and we will assert respect for them by all the UN member states and support the supervisory mechanisms for ensuring they are observed. We reject the use of force and the escalation of tension. In its domestic and foreign policy the Slovak Republic recognizes the principles of a pluralist democracy, of a social market economy, and of a law-governed state. Adhering to these values will form the basis for a just solution to contemporary problems.

Minister Knazko stressed that Slovakia's admission into the United Nations is not only a ceremonial day—which begins a new chapter in our country's history—but also marks the successful culmination of the process for the Slovak Republic's entry onto the international scene.

I solemnly declare on behalf of the Slovak Government, he said in conclusion, that in its international relations the Slovak Republic will be governed by the rules of international law and by the aims and principles enshrined in the UN Charter. I assure you that the Slovak Republic is prepared to establish relations with all nations based on the principles of sovereign equality, the nonutilization of force, nonintervention in internal affairs, respect for territorial integrity, political independence, and the peaceful resolution of disputes. [passage omitted]

Views Acceptance Into United Nations

AU2501184993 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 21 Jan 93 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Foreign Minister Milan Knazko, by an unidentified NARODNA OBRODA reporter; place and date not given: "This Was Not Only a Formality"]

[Text] New York—Shortly after the historical event—the acceptance of Slovakia as a member of the most important international organization, the UN—we asked the head of our delegation, Slovak Foreign Minister Milan Knazko, for an interview.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Sir, one would like to say: We have completed one phase. This phase, however, stretches into yet another phase, in which we will have even more work to do.

[Knazko] Yes, really, this really means unceasing activity for our diplomatic services, and I am happy that this is the way it is. I am convinced that, as with any other treaty, with any other membership of an international structure, new opportunities will open for us to participate in international cooperation.

[NARODNA OBRODA] The CSFR had its representation on many UN commissions and bodies. Do you know which of them will be taken over by which republic as the successor?

[Knazko] So far, we have discussed only 12 commissions. In five of them, the Slovak Republic should be the successor, and the Czech Republic in seven. However, the UN has not yet approved this, so we will have to wait for the result.

[NARODNA OBRODA] This will be made regardless of the importance [of the commissions]?

[Knazko] There are various criteria and I do not believe that we will have anything to complain about in terms of lack of work.

[NARODNA OBRODA] I have raised this question regarding the importance intentionally, since there are people who say that the Slovak Republic's membership in the CSCE is not equivalent to the Czech Republic's candidacy for a nonpermanent member of the UN Security Council. Let us recall, for example, the disputes with the Hungarian Republic.

[Knazko] There is a simple answer to that. Some Hungarian politicians have questioned Slovakia's embarkation on international political life from the very beginning, that is, as of 1 January. This is why it is important that Slovakia assumes these activities immediately—without paying attention to the importance of roles in the Security Council or in the CSCE. Slovakia's place on the CSCE was approved last December, effective as of 1 January, while nonpermanent membership in the Security Council will be discussed this spring. This means that during these days and weeks the Slovak Republic would not be a member of the Security Council, or a member of the troika in the CSCE, either. It would have reduced chances in competition with Belarus, which is applying for membership on the Security Council. Now it is the Czech Republic who has this reduced chance. So it was unequivocally advantageous for us to receive immediately our membership of the CSCE troika.

[NARODNA OBRODA] It was said that Slovakia would be accepted into the UN first, before the Czech Republic. The reality was different, however. It may be unimportant, but I have heard people say—albeit only a handful—that this was a slight disappointment.

[Knazko] I really did not deal with that matter, since the order in which countries are accepted is unimportant. It may have something to do with the English alphabetical order of our countries. On the other hand, as you may have noticed, Ambassador Merimee from France in his speech

mentioned Slovakia several times, and only then the Czech Republic. However, I would not attach much importance to it, as this, again, may be due to the alphabetical order. In this case, order is unimportant. We were accepted on the same day.

[NARODNA OBRODA] As you were leaving for the UN, there was an appeal by our New York correspondent, Uhrik, who demanded that the Slovak Government should protest that the former common symbol, the flag, is being used by the Czech Republic. This flag was raised in front of the UN yesterday.

[Knazko] These problems are being solved by mutual agreements between our governments. The Federal Assembly even passed a law which prohibited the use of common symbols of the Federation by one or other side. It is a matter of opinion, or political ethics, that the Czech side did not consider this law to be relevant and voted in favor of using the same flag as we had before. If you want to hear my personal opinion, it should be solved at the parliamentary level and in political discussions between governments, since I believe that when a firm has a common symbol, none of its successors may use it. This is what the said law provided for. On the other hand, since neither the National Council of the Slovak Republic, nor the Slovak Government, have adopted a consistent standpoint on that matter, I am unable to submit a formal protest today. It would not be proper thing to do, if for no other reason than because I stressed in my speech the civilized and conflict-free manner in which we have separated. I cannot put all this in question by submitting a formal protest against the flag, a protest which would not meet with understanding anyway.

[NARODNA OBRODA] When we were leaving for the UN, you said to a Radiozurnal reporter that you were looking forward to the moment when you would appear in front of such an important audience.

[Knazko] One can usually only appreciate the greatness of such a moment afterwards. There, I had to concentrate on my address, which lasted between eight and 12 minutes. I am very happy that even my bilateral meetings with Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali and Chairman Ganey were received positively. Of course, the feelings that we had at those moments have become a permanent and unique experience for us.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Were these talks only formal talks, or did they look forward to further activity of the Slovak Republic in UN bodies?

[Knazko] They were talks of a polite and formal character, yet, in spite of this, I spoke to Mr. Butrus Butrus-Ghali on quite specific matters. For example, about the possibility of establishing an UN Office for Women and Family in Bratislava. We spoke about UN peacekeeping forces and about his visit to Slovakia. I would like cordially to invite the secretary general there. It was quite an informal gesture and he was very happy about this invitation. Dozens and dozens of congratulations by representatives of other missions testify to the fact that Slovakia's acceptance into the

UN was not only a matter of form. It was a cordial acceptance, and I believe that this obliges us to meet all the criteria of the work in the UN, and to prepare conditions for good cooperation.

Parliament Approves Intelligence Service Law

AU2501194293 Prague CTK in English 1551 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 21 (CTK)—The Slovak National Council (parliament) declined today to approve a requirement contained in a law proposal that all Slovak citizens must immediately supply any knowledge they may possess of subversive activities to the Slovak Information (intelligence) Service (SIS).

According to the law on the Slovak Information Service passed today, only government agencies are subject to this requirement.

The intelligence agency answers to the Slovak State Defence Council in all matters concerning state security. Among its surveillance targets are subversion, terrorism, counterintelligence, and violations of the Slovak Constitution.

The Slovak parliament later amended several Czechoslovak laws by substituting Slovak Republic for Czech and Slovak Federative Republic.

The legislators have also determined in the law on political parties and movements that only those entities registered with the Slovak Interior Ministry may legally engage in political activities.

A fire safety law was passed today to adapt Slovak fire regulations to European Community standards. One of the reasons given in the proposal was that fire-related personal and private business damages in the Slovak Republic have more than quadrupled in the past three years.

The parliament has passed a law requiring that all foreign births, marriages, and deaths of Slovak citizens must be entered at the Bratislava 1 registration office.

National Bank Officials Hold News Conference

AU2601131393 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 21 Jan 93 pp 1, 3

[Report by Alena Melicharkova: "To the IMF With a Memorandum"]

[Text] The Slovak Republic's admission into the United Nations creates more opportunities for the Slovak National Bank [NB SR]. This statement was made by NB SR Deputy Governor Marian Tkac, who has been entrusted with running the bank, at the NB SR's first news conference yesterday. "Just 20 days after being founded, the NB SR has established all the main sectors of activity, but not to the same extent as a bank with a 1,000-year tradition," he said.

A Slovak delegation (made up of representatives from the NB SR and the Finance Ministry) departs for Washington

today for talks with IMF officials taking with it a memorandum outlining the Slovak Republic's economic policy aims. The memorandum proceeds from the results of reform and takes into consideration continuing all the positive steps. According to Tkac, the document recommends making more flexible use of certain mechanisms, for example, using taxes to support entrepreneurial activity. It also envisages a rapid privatization policy. The government and the NB SR would then only play the role of mediator for the entry of foreign capital. Tkac stressed that this does not yet involve a review of economic reform, but involves supplementing it with mechanisms benefiting Slovakia.

He also spoke about dividing the Czechoslovak State Bank's property, a process that has not yet been completed. "It will be completed once we know the final figures on the state of the assets and liabilities, and when we reach a definitive agreement, on which assets and liabilities are Slovak and which are Czech. According to the preliminary results, the NB SR balance reveals a deficit in liabilities amounting to approximately 23 billion korunas. This involves the Slovak business sphere's commitments to the Czech banking sector and the—currently—uncovered Slovak state budget deficit. At the moment, however, it is impossible to talk about one state's indebtedness to the other," said Tkac.

Regarding last year's balance of payments, the NB SR representatives said that the results are not yet known. However, they said the Slovak economy has—in principle—completely come to terms with the handicap caused by the collapse of its eastern markets. Regarding the system of payments with the Czech Republic following currency separation, it was disclosed that intensive negotiations are currently taking place on possible mutual payment systems. The clearing system is possible, but a system of implementing payments in convertible currencies is also possible. According to the NB SR deputy governors, it is too early to talk about this issue. They assume it will be settled at the next meeting of the Czech and Slovak Monetary Committee.

This meeting will take place on 1 February and not on 25 January as originally planned. The reason for this change is the departure of NB SR representatives and Slovak Monetary Committee members for talks with the IMF in Washington.

NB SR Deputy Governor Marian Jusko replied to a question about the relationship between the NB SR and the Slovak Government. He said that the president will appoint—following approval by the National Council of the Slovak Republic—three members of the Banking Council and five members will be appointed by the government following a recommendation from the NB SR governor. I consider the fact that these members cannot be recalled during their approved term of office to be an important one, he said. Regarding the provisions contained in the law on the NB SR's support for government economic policy, he said that the laws of other countries contain similar provisions and that there is nothing unusual about this.

Questions concerning the exchange of money in the event of currency separation were also discussed. Marian Tkac again gave an assurance that all money will be exchanged at a 1:1 ratio. It may happen that, for technical reasons, it will be impossible to exchange large sums at once. In this case, it will be possible to deposit money in savings accounts and then exchange it at a 1:1 ratio just like the other money.

No Agreement on Date of Separate Currency Creation
LD2501203493 Prague CTK in English 1957 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 25 (CTK)—The date of the Czechoslovak crown's split into separate Czech and Slovak currencies was not decided at today's 2d session of the Czech and Slovak Monetary Committee at Smolenice, west Slovakia.

Members of the committee told journalists after the session that the date falls within the authority of the Czech and Slovak Governments and not the National Banks.

The Governor of the Czech National Bank, Josef Tosovsky, and Vice Governor of the National Bank of Slovakia, Marian Jusko, merely stated that the split may occur anytime after January 31.

Jusko said he expects devaluation of the Slovak currency after the Czechoslovak crown's split, but added that he cannot estimate its rate.

Slovak Finance Minister Julius Toth said the introduction of new currencies must be decided by the parliaments of the two countries. According to Jusko, this must be preceded by rescindment of the Czech-Slovak Treaty on Monetary Cooperation, which is within the authority of the Czech and Slovak Governments.

The Czech-Slovak Treaty on a Customs and Currency Union, signed October 29, 1992, envisaged the preservation of the common Czechoslovak currency for at least six months after the country's split into independent Czech and Slovak Republics on January 1.

Meanwhile CTK learned from bank sources in Budapest that Hungarian banks and exchange offices today halted all operations with Czechoslovak crowns, at the request of the Hungarian National Bank.

The Hungarian News Agency MTI reported that the Czech and Slovak National Banks today officially asked Hungarian authorities, commercial banks, and other institutions to halt purchase and sale of Czechoslovak currency and travel cheques, the Hungarian News Agency MTI announced.

The report was later denied by press spokesman for the Czech National Bank Martin Svehla. He told CTK that the Czech National Bank had unofficially asked the Hungarian National Bank not to increase its reserves of Czechoslovak crowns.

At Budapest's black market, the exchange rate of one Czechoslovak crown fell from three forints to two or even 1.8 forints. Hungarian exchange offices and travel bureaus recommend those owning some Czechoslovak crowns to spend them as quickly as possible in the successor states to former Czechoslovakia.

On Sunday [24 January], Czech Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik said on Czech Television that everything was ready for the split of the Czechoslovak currency, and that it will be carried out as soon as the situation is ripe for it from the economic point of view.

Ministry Official Pledges Noninterference With Army
AU2501191393 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Jan 93 p 3

[TA SR report: "They Will Not Interfere With the Army"]

[Text] Bratislava—"We want to keep the Slovak Ministry of Defense—as a political administration department—absolutely separate from the Slovak Army Command, the executive element of the Defense Ministry." This statement was made by Defense Ministry State Secretary Igor Urban, who visited the Slovak Army Command in Trencin yesterday. He was accompanied by his adviser, Imrich Andrejcak, and by the government commissioner for dividing the Army, Jan Smilka. He stressed that the Defense Ministry will in no way interfere with the Slovak Army. During a meeting with leading functionaries, Urban also referred to the burning social problems facing career soldiers. He said that 3,000 more apartments are needed; 1,800 of them for Air Force personnel. The Army is capable of building some 2,100 apartments by the end of 1994. He met with members of the Slovak Army Command Council after the meeting.

Slovak Army To Provide UN With Troops by 1 Apr
LD2501185893 Prague CTK in English 1807 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 25 (CTK)—The Slovak Army will prepare a unit to serve in the framework of the UN Peace-Keeping Forces (UNPROFOR) in former Yugoslavia by April 1, Miroslav Kurilla of the Slovak Ministry of Defence told journalists today.

Lieutenant-Colonel Kurilla, chief of the Foreign Relations Department in the Slovak Defence Ministry, who has recently visited the Czechoslovak UNPROFOR unit in former Yugoslavia, said that the unit is undergoing personnel changes, given the division of the Czechoslovak Army.

He said within the battalion a company was composed from the Slovak Army soldiers. He said that 83 Slovak soldiers out of the 122 troops serving in the battalion have already taken their oath.

Kurilla said that the Czechs have pledged to help in preparing a separate Slovak unit to be a part of the UN Peace-Keeping Forces in former Yugoslavia. He said the Czechoslovak battalion there has won international credit for its activities.

Official Views Relations With Romania, Slovakia

AU2501174993 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 22 Jan 93 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Ivan Baba, deputy secretary of state at the Foreign Ministry, by Pietsch; place and date not given: "We Received Bucharest's Signals Positively, Ivan Baba Says"]

[Text] MAGYAR NEMZET interviewed Ivan Baba on the prospects of Hungarian-Romanian and Hungarian-Slovak relations.

[Pietsch] The year 1993 began positively as far as the future of Hungarian-Romanian relations are concerned. A number of positive statements have been made by the Romanian side, and the foreign ministers exchanged letters with constructive contents. What are your views on all this?

[Baba] Indeed, there is a chance to improve Romanian-Hungarian relations this year. Romanian Foreign Minister Melescanu has given important signals to us and we have received these positively. At the same time, we made it clear that high-level political meetings can only take place if we can agree on certain issues that are very important for us on the level of experts. I am thinking of the fact that basic changes will have to take place in the position of the Hungarians in Romania. Among other things, this means that the Romanian side should invite the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ] to help draft the passage on national minorities in the basic agreement.

We consider it vitally important for the legitimate leaders of the RMDSZ to express their views on this issue. In our view, the RMDSZ has the clearest ideas on how to solve the problems of Hungarians in Romania. If the Romanian side accepts these ideas and these are set down in the basic agreement, then there will be no obstacles to making progress in our relations. At the same time, there are other problems waiting to be solved; for example, the reopening of the main consulates, a fundamental improvement of conditions at the border crossing points, and the restoration of Hungarian memorial places in Romania, such as the one in Arad [Oradea].

[Pietsch] An actual agenda has been mentioned for bilateral contacts. According to this, the experts should meet first, and this could be followed by meetings by state secretaries and then foreign ministers. Possibly, after all these, an even higher level meeting could take place. What is the likelihood of this?

[Baba] Our experts will travel to Bucharest next week to discuss the open issues of the basic agreement, including those points that were minuted in the spring of 1992. In some of these there has been progress while in others there has not. The decision on the level of future meetings will be dependent on the expert talks.

[Pietsch] Recently, Foreign Minister Melescanu has a number of times urged the development of bilateral

relations. At the same time, he has repeated the familiar Romanian demand that we should officially declare that Hungary renounces even the idea of changing the borders. A number of Hungarian reactions have been made to this: Foreign Minister Jeszenszky said it was unnecessary because the borders were guaranteed by a number of international agreements that we had signed. At the same time, Gyorgy Csoti, deputy chairman of the Foreign Affairs Committee, thought that a declaration of this kind could be considered. What are your views on this?

[Baba] I agree with our foreign minister. We have already stated our views in international documents. The CSCE documents are mandatory for all signatories. Rational politicians cannot believe that Hungary intends to change its borders with Romania. The Hungarian Government has not indicated this in any way and no statement has been made by the Hungarian side which could lead the Romanian side to keep mentioning this issue. If they keep doing it, then, in my view, there are domestic political reasons for it.

[Pietsch] Nevertheless, in the interest of improving relations and having an early signing of the basic agreement, would such a declaration be some kind of gesture?

[Baba] If we get as far as signing the basic agreement, then that obviously will have a passage on this. It will say that neither side wants to change the borders by force. However, in my view, the excessive emphasis on this issue is a political attempt to influence the public mood and is not a professional approach to the issue. We have no reason to make a statement of any kind on this before the basic agreement is made.

[Pietsch] At what stage is the basic agreement at the moment?

[Baba] There are only a few issues left now and the Hungarian delegation will probably discuss these during the talks in Bucharest next week. It is known that the passages on the borders and on national minorities have not been finalized yet. We have not made any progress on these two points but both sides have offered their recommended versions of the text.

[Pietsch] From the point of view of the future of the Hungarian minority in Romania and of bilateral relations, what are your views on the RMDSZ's Brasov congress and the organizational and personnel decisions made there?

[Baba] In my view, the congress was definitely positive and the decisions made there were good compromises. It is good that Bela Marko became the chairman and Laszlo Tokes the honorary chairman, and the accepted document is also good. It can also be acceptable for democratically thinking Romanians. Those Romanian political groups that have a rational attitude toward the national minority issue have already expressed this. The

events at the RMDSZ's congress furthered the cause of Hungarians in Romania and Romanian-Hungarian relations.

[Pietsch] Unfortunately, the beginning of the year cannot be said to be as promising for our relations with Slovakia, which became independent on 1 January, as with Romania. Bilateral relations are laden with known tensions, including discrimination against the Hungarian minority, the Bos issue, and the uncertainty about Visegrad. What are your views on the future of these relations?

[Baba] The Visegrad cooperation has a new dimension, namely the free trade agreement. The operation of this does not directly depend on political statements made by the Slovak and Czech sides. This free trade agreement will become effective with Slovakia, the Czech Republic, and Poland, and we hope that it will be successful.

Actually, I believe that our relations with Slovakia will improve, although we do have problems. One is the Bos issue in which we cannot make any progress because of the inflexible views of Slovak technocrats. The other side of the issue is the situation of the national minorities. However, I know that there are Slovak political groups that have realized that this issue cannot be treated inflexibly and the Hungarians in Slovakia have to be given the rights that they require. The road should be taken which leads to satisfying the needs of the Hungarians in Slovakia and to asserting their rights to an increasing extent.

Patience is a very important factor in building relations, but the condition of patience is that the negative tendency that manifested itself six months ago in Slovakia should be reversed, the constitutional and parliamentary codification of the rights of Hungarians in Slovakia should begin, and the governmental decisions that limit these rights should be withdrawn. There are signs of this, and there are people among the Slovak politicians who know that the Hungarians in Slovakia do not threaten Slovakia, rather, they can be a connecting link between Slovaks and Hungarians.

Albanian Defense Minister Arrives for Visit

LD2601122293 Budapest MTI in English 1140 GMT 26 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, January 26 (MTI)—An Albanian military policy delegation headed by Defence Minister Safet Zhulali arrived in Hungary on a three-day official visit on Monday [25 January] evening at the invitation of Defence Minister Lajos Fur, MTI was told today.

The delegation is to hold talks in the Defence Ministry on what are described as "topical security and military policy issues," cooperation between the two armies, and the development of military relations. Fur and Zhulali are scheduled to sign an agreement on ministerial cooperation on Thursday [28 January].

MDF National Convention Discusses Party Issues

Csurka Criticizes Leadership

LD2201233493 Budapest MTI in English 1943 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, January 22 (MTI)—Istvan Csurka, member of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) presidium, addressed the national convention amidst the delegates' ovation. In his contribution, which surpassed the allowed, five-minute time limit considerably, Csurka brought up a host of examples to prove how the MDF failed to implement a system change, and get rid of the nomenclature of the former regime. He criticized his party's programme, the government's restrictive financial policy, and the concentration of power.

Referring to his conflict with MDF chairman and Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, Csurka said he struggled to change the MDF's policy rather than ousting the prime minister. In Csurka's view, his study, which created a controversial storm after its publication on August 20 last year, should not be blamed for breaking progress. It was broken rather by the fact that the advocates of national spirit had been pushed into the background. The party and the government will only have a chance to achieve victory if they effect sweeping changes, he said.

In concluding his speech, which was interrupted by applause several times, Csurka pressed for unity, saying he would be prepared for peace, cooperation and the service of the common cause. He said a united MDF would be invincible and the party's unity could only be based on loyalty and devotion to the nation.

Antall Reports on Government's Successes

LD2201235593 Budapest MTI in English 2318 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, January 22 (MTI)—"Those who turn to the right push the government to the left," Minister of Industry and Trade Ivan Szabo said during a political debate on the first day of the 6th national convention of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF). His view was shared by other contributors who called upon the delegates to preserve the MDF as a centrist party.

The debate was closed by Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, who would be running unopposed for re-election as MDF chairman tonight.

In his one-hour address, Antall listed facts and figures to prove that his government had already made the most important steps on the road of system change, and carried out the required reshuffles in state administration. In response to criticism that his government retained the professionals of the previous regime and was slow in doing justice, he stressed that social reconciliation cannot be reached through the creation of new enemies.

Antall spoke in detail about his government's achievements, including the reduction of the external debt, the curbing of inflation, the influx of USD [U.S. dollars] 3 billion worth of foreign capital and the emergence of half a million entrepreneurs.

Antall recalled that he had always taken a stand for establishing a market economy. He added that his government would make every possible effort to ease the plight of those falling behind, and guarantee equal chances for all.

At the end of his speech, Antal asked the delegates to keep the centrist and European nature of the MDF, and support the policy which deviates neither to the right nor to the left, maintains the country's stability, and completes the system change.

Antall announced he accepted nomination for the chairman's post. He added, however, that he wished to rely on a united presidium whose members would not be fighting against one another and advocated the centrist nature of the party.

"Should anything justify it, I will not hesitate about standing up from the prime minister's seat because I always had an appropriate sense of responsibility and considered the service of the nation my primary goal," Antal said.

Antall Re-elected; New Presidium Chosen

LD2301210693 Budapest MTI in English 1637 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, January 23 (MTI)—"The newly-elected MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] presidium's composition reflects policies which I can accept from the human and moral point of view and with which government of the country can proceed," prime minister and re-elected MDF president Jozsef Antal said in Budapest on Saturday [23 January].

He was speaking at an international press conference after the morning plenary session of the 6th national convention of Hungary's leading government coalition party.

As a result of the election of new officials, seven members of the 20-strong presidium were replaced.

Sandor Lezsak, Lajos Fur, Imre Konya, Istvan Csurka, Ivan Szabo, Peter Nahimi, Gyorgy Szabad, Gabriella Farkas, Geza Jeszenszky, Gyula Zacsak, Tamas Szabo, Laszlo Medgyasszay, and Zoltan Bogardi were re-elected.

New members are Peter Boross, Tamas Katona, Ferenc Kulin, Laszlo Sarossy, Zsolt Zetenyi, Gyula Fekete, and Istvan Balas.

The drop-outs are Istvan Bethlen, Sandor Csoori—who asked not to be nominated—Imre Furmann, Istvan Grezsa, Balazs Horvath, Gabor Roszik, and Gabor Szekes.

Antall said governments and parties could only be led through unity and mutual confidence, but not in an atmosphere of hostility. A party needs clarifying debates and predictable policies.

Answering questions about the change in power relations within the presidium, writer Istvan Csurka noted that the new 20-strong body also includes people nominated by him and his supporters.

On the presidium's future work, Antal said that despite the differences between members, cooperation was possible if basic norms were observed.

A strong Hungarian middle class could not be brought about overnight, Antal said, but the government's strategy is aimed at creating a broad stratum of proprietors and employees, which is the only feasible way to lay foundations for transformation and economic development.

Referring to Lajos Fur's Friday [22 January] speech about declining MDF membership, Antal felt that the party should be open to all offering a base and voters for the party. The MDF should be a broad national popular party, rather than a ghetto, he said.

Regarding the press, Antal said there was room for criticism and honest analysis, but the press should avoid disheartening people. Citing freedom and honesty, Antal asked for cooperation from the press, for which he said it should have a sense of political and national responsibility. Cooperation is as much up to journalists as to the MDF and the government, he said.

MTI asked about future relations between the party's parliamentary arm and the government, and MDF parliamentary head Imre Konya and Antal agreed that each had clearly defined tasks, and they should work together to carry out MDF policy.

Konya said the new presidium's composition contradicted early suggestions that the party wanted to distance itself from the government.

Delegates to the 6th national convention will continue at section meetings behind closed doors until early evening, and will report the work done to the plenary session on Sunday.

Caucus Sessions Pass Resolutions

LD2401140593 Budapest MTI in English 1152 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, January 24 (MTI)—Caucus sessions at the Hungarian Democratic Forum's 6th national convention passed resolutions on tasks in nearly all spheres of politics, economy and culture on Saturday [23 January] and Sunday. Proposals put forward in the 12 sections include:

—To speed up privatization, ensuring a better control over it,

- A new land law should prevent foreign citizens from acquiring arable land in Hungary,
- To work out a national housing policy as soon as possible,
- To adopt a law on police as soon as possible,
- Parliament should set up a committee to find out about the personal responsibility of leaders in the past regime,
- To improve the propaganda of Christian schools.

The most applause was drawn by the statement that genuine Hungarian Television and Radio have to be created. The Hungarian Democratic Forum supports genuine unbiased public service media and backs the government's latest moves concerning the two media. Also, the party proposes to create equal opportunities in the press by giving government subsidies to press organs of a national spirit.

The Hungarian Democratic Forum should hold its 3rd national economic policy conference this year, to discuss economic guidelines of policies for the 1994 elections, a section session proposed at the party's national convention.

According to the section report, a primary aspect of economic guidelines is employment policy and easing effects of unemployment. It also called for measures against those receiving unemployment benefit while working illegally, and against their employers.

A section proposed Parliament to adopt a law on environmental protection in the first half of this year.

Another section resolution called for setting up a National Security Council responsible to the prime minister.

The foreign affairs team confirmed Hungary was ready to back Slovakia in efforts to integrate into European organizations but before that, the two countries would have to come to agreement on the issues of the Gabčíkovo power plant and the Hungarian minority in Slovakia. According to the team, guaranteeing Hungarian minorities' rights must be considered a basic condition in talks with neighbouring countries.

Finally, one section called for talks about the removal of a Soviet Army monument from Budapest's Szabadsag Square, as they said the monument was "a source of tensions."

Antall Denies Seeking To Delay Elections

LD2401182393 Budapest MTI in English 1724 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, January 24 (MTI)—The Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) will continue to pursue a resolute and tough but still predictable and compromise-seeking policy to reach its political goals, MDF chairman and Prime Minister Jozsef Antall said in his closing address to the 6th national convention of his party.

The chairman said his party should become more open and win over new supporters, which is the only way for it to win, or fare well, in the next elections.

Antall rejected what he called "ill-willed propaganda", accusing the governing coalition of an intention to postpone the 1994 elections or prepare for a coup. The prime minister said the elections would be held at the time stipulated by constitutional law. Nevertheless, the MDF opposes early elections, he said.

Antall said that the majority of opposition party members were honest people. He emphasised that in parliament there could be political cooperation with opposition forces but this should not take the form of a people's front, six-party government.

Party Statutes Amended

LD2401192793 Budapest MTI in English 1746 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, January 24 (MTI)—Party statutes amended at the Hungarian Democratic Forum's (MDF) 6th national convention today guarantee the MDF's operation and governability, and the enforcement of democratic principles, spokesmen announced.

The national board has been completed with a representative of each district in Budapest, the party chairman, the national presidium, ten members of the party's parliamentary group, and the chairmen of the county and Budapest boards.

Popular-national commitment has been included among the goals of the MDF as a social organisation.

Manifesto Outlines Party Stances

LD2401201693 Budapest MTI in English 1842 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, January 24 (MTI)—The Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) is profoundly committed to national values and the universal interests of Hungarians, says the manifesto approved in its 6th national convention on Sunday [24 January].

Entitled "Account and Prospects," the manifesto says the MDF firmly insists on the ideals of the rule of law, parliamentary democracy, freedom, and property. It is a quiet political force advocating democracy, peaceful conditions, determination, and reliability, a party open to, and ready to hold talks with, all responsible political forces.

The manifesto stresses the MDF's profound awareness of the plight of the Hungarian people, and the need for having its policy understood and accepted by society. "The fact that we failed to express our well-intentioned endeavours in a clear-cut way and failed to set an appropriate tone has distanced part of society from the MDF," the manifesto says. It calls for a new tone to be

set and a new dialogue to be launched with all levels of society, and presses for improved relations with the media.

"Apart from external economic and political uncertainties, national renewal is endangered by internal problems, burdens of transformation and the economic, political, and social demagoguery based on them, which could shatter stability. Should the MDF fail to win confidence in the 1994 elections, the painful process of transformation would come to a halt and the country would be driven into chaos," the document says.

The MDF has in part realised its programme, the manifesto goes on. Hungary has taken an irreversible step towards a market economy based on private initiative. The MDF is aware that economic prosperity would generate confidence in the institutions of the democratic, law-governed state, and begin to answer social problems. The MDF cannot be diverted from the free market programme, says the manifesto, giving as priorities encouraging investment, taking consistent measures to curb unemployment and the huge budget deficit, and halting inflation.

Antall Says Government Changes Likely

LD2401204693 Budapest MTI in English 2010 GMT 24 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, January 24 (MTI)—Changes are likely in the make-up of the government, Jozsef Antall told the press after the 6th national convention of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) on Sunday [24 January]. All changes, however, will be preceded by consultations with the other coalition parties.

Antall closed the convention saying it had created a basis for the party to take, despite all controversies, a unified stand.

Antall said the MDF could only hope to be successful if, beside pursuing more resolute policies, it took the right attitude to the media. The party could indeed be on good terms with a fair press even if it was a sharply critical press, he said.

In the subsequent press conference attended by the new MDF national presidium, mainly Jozsef Antall and Istvan Csurka were in the firing line. They were asked how far their unity went and whether their disagreement would reemerge.

Antall said that unity should be guaranteed by the MDF itself, while Csurka recalled that all members of the presidium accepted the amended party statutes as binding and determining their attitudes in the future.

Antall, Csurka on Power Relations

LD2501130293 Budapest MTI in English 1202 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, January 25 (MTI)—Newspapers summing up after the end of the weekend Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) national convention focussed on the views of ailing but overwhelmingly re-elected chairman and Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, and slightly strengthened right-wing populist heir apparent Istvan Csurka. Antall and Csurka, who have declared that their previous disagreements about the basic mission of Hungary's largest government party are now resolved, separately told journalists different groups would work together within the party.

In a "UJ MAGYARORSZAG" interview with Premier Jozsef Antall about power relations within the party and within the newly-elected presidium, Antall says that his open disagreement with the style and methods of a few people in the MDF presidium does not affect the operation of the body, but has the advantage that the majority pays more attention to them.

Speaking about the press, he points out that after the fall of direct government and party control over the press, the press should be honest and free, as well as viable in the market and able to win the confidence of society.

Istvan Csurka, member of the new 20-strong MDF presidium and leader of the party's popular-national wing, in an interview with "MAGYAR HIRLAP", thought in future critics of the MDF should no longer be regarded as enemies.

"If I was elected with such a large vote despite having been fiercely attacked before, while Jozsef Antall became party president again with overall support, then the national convention probably thought that we both have a place in the presidium. This was the forum's decision, by which I abide." (Csurka received the fourth largest number of votes among presidential candidates.)

Antall Comments on Policies, Attitudes

LD2601010093 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1730 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Interview with Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, recently re-elected chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), by correspondent Jozsef P. Szabo; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpts] [Szabo] Different views have been aired in connection with the national conference of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), either outside or inside the MDF itself, and even inside or outside the borders. You also made an appraisal in your closing speech, in your statements in the press, too. This time I will not ask for an appraisal, at least not as the first question, so I will put the question by asking: How much easier or more difficult has your situation become by what happened at the national conference?

[Antall] It is by all means better if things come out and are cleared and if questions are clearly put either within the wider framework of a debate, or in the form of personal conflicts, organizational matters, or political endeavors. I personally think that these differences were revealed in the press, too. Neither do I regret that those who put this opposition into words within my own party devoted an entire issue to this national conference, and also, in an honorable manner to my own person too. Thus, I had the opportunity to give an answer before the national conference. Consequently, we were able to spare the national conference from the trouble of a lot of things that would have taken place there. In this way, it became obvious to friends and opponents alike where the front lines were, where common points could be found. One has to consider it the most natural thing in the world that our political opponents always wish something else. As I said, the most essential thing is that a party or a government does not form its policy according to the bait of the opposing party and does not walk into the traps that were previously set up. A political party, a government has to pursue an offensive policy according to its own rules. [passage omitted]

[Szabo] Let us try to make things a little more concrete. What kind of cooperation can come about with the new presidium in which the center as well as the national-popular wing have become stronger? Can the internal debate of the party be regarded as finished, or can we say that the debate has at least reached a stage where the MDF can concentrate on national problems or on the elections?

[Antall] I have said several times that the ideological legacy, the national-popular legacy, the legacy of national liberalism or Christian democracy, differ from what this is about. Here it is not the popular-national wing that has become stronger, nor has the liberal wing become stronger or weaker, as some say inside and outside the borders. What it is all about is that the Hungarian Democratic Forum comprises all these political ideas. There can be no debate over national independence, parliamentary democracy, and a social market economy. Those who stand on this basis can emphasize certain legacies and undertake them all to the same extent or with some shift in emphasis.

Istvan Csurka is not the leader of the national-popular wing. It would be good to make this clear. This issue does not arise in this form. Istvan Csurka is one of the founders of the Hungarian Democratic Forum. As far as the other issue is concerned, the difference between ideas is determined by who and how strongly is attached to the previously mentioned fundamental issues, to their unity or synthesis, and whether he takes a different line in relation to methods and style. This is the subject matter. Consequently, it is impossible to talk about certain wings or ideas. As far as the other thing is concerned, a couple of people cannot expropriate national liberalism as an ideology. If we examine the present presidium, why would there be fewer liberals in this presidium in which Gyoergy Szabad, Ferenc Kulin can be found and who

were already committed to national liberalism when others had barely been hatched? By the way, it was I who first described this notion in Hungarian historiography.

One third of this presidium has been re-elected, so it can be regarded as a normal rotation. As for the other thing, the political balance of powers has not changed at all in a disadvantageous manner. It reflects what the Hungarian Democratic Forum means. I would not place labels on those persons who got in the presidium on the basis of the issues raised by Istvan Csurka. Everybody's activity will be judged according to his results there. This is an extreme simplification of the matter. [passage omitted]

[Szabo] Leaving the topic of the party for a little bit, after the national conference, will the cooperation be more difficult or easier, either within the government coalition or, let us say, with the opposition?

[Antall] Good negotiations can only be carried out with a stabilized political or military force; even laying down arms is worse with a defeated army than with a good one, not to speak of success. A strengthened party with a clear inner order represents a much greater force, and is more advantageous even for the coalition and gives much less possibility for speculation to the opposition.

And yes indeed, predictability is one of the most important elements in politics; even those with contrary views prefer people they know. It is not accidental that very often definite, right center politicians have been preferred even by dictators, because they learned to esteem them. So I believe it is much better by all means if they know exactly where the other party stands. That is why I find it better for us to carry on negotiations after a political arrangement like this, when there are no false hopes or illusions about each other, but straightforward, open things. It is always more difficult to have talks with insidious people, speculators.

[Szabo] The national conference has formulated as a matter of fact the policy of the next one and a half years on several issues. Which is the one that you consider the most important?

[Antall] It is obvious that in politics, it is not possible to set priorities in the sense that one of them is the most important, and that at the expense of this, the other one can be neglected. In politics it is not possible to say things like foreign policy is not important, or that security policy is not important, or that from now on we will only speak about social problems, economic problems. The task of the government is to keep every issue on the surface simultaneously. When I had to or have to deal with the problem of unemployment day by day, or with the issue of privatization at the level of the head of the government, the Soviet debt also has to be dealt with.

Who will set the order of priorities for me, what I have to deal with now, when these are issues that are closely interrelated with each other? Obviously, people are interested in them not in the same way and place

different values on them. Unfortunately, for me everything must be equally important from the point of view of the whole country. [passage omitted] But the success of the next one and half years is a vital issue for the government coalition and the political thinking of a middle party, and through this, for the whole democracy, the constitutional state. So it obviously belongs in the sphere of economic and social issues, since without economic and social transformation and security, political stability will be endangered as well. The other thing is that the constitutional statehood, and I stress this, a constitutional statehood that is able to function, should be put in the foreground. And anyone who paralyzes the functioning of the constitutional statehood or the enforcement of the constitution, commits a historic crime. [passage omitted]

[Szabo] If I remember correctly, at the international news conference, in answer to a question, you also mentioned that there will be changes in the government. You did not mention dates or portfolios; this is natural. This is not what I want to ask you about. However, if you look at the government's activity, where and in what do you see room for improvement? Let us put it like this.

[Antall] If I were to give a straight reply to this, then it could be discovered what I want to do. Consequently, I will obviously not give a straight reply. A government has to work in such a way that it is able to discuss everything; there is total freedom there. At the time of debates, there is voting in the government. [passage omitted] But when an issue has been decided, then afterward, it is not permitted to make contrary statements. And whoever does not keep to this basic internal order of the government has no place in the government. And the other thing is that the government's policy naturally has to be brought into harmony with the facts in good time.

And another thing, since we are talking about a government reshuffle: It has to be brought back in Hungary, from the experience of real democracies, that a minister who in a given situation leaves the government must not be considered a fallen man. [passage omitted] The prestige of former ministers must also be restored, and that of the former state secretaries. If a person leaves a political career, if only for a time, and goes into private business or some other area, that person should have exactly the same chance of getting back. [passage omitted]

[Szabo] After the government, once again a question about the party or to be more precise about party membership. It may seem a minor question but it caught my attention that the new party constitution sets more strict rules for becoming a party member. At the same time, Mr. Lajos Fuer said that the party should be open to all who could mean any votes for the party.

[Antall] The two are not in conflict at all, rules for becoming a party member obviously require regulations by the party constitution. [passage omitted] There is now

a need for an MDF constitution that creates a clear legal position. This is one part of it, the legal and organizational aspect, the other side is political. This means that anybody who accepts the MDF basic constitution, its program, can indeed become a member; there is no exclusion of any form. Anybody who does not agree with the MDF and the policies we represent should not join our party.

The other point is that this is a party with an electoral program and it is not a party of ideology. In a modern democracy it is extremely important to gain the support of sympathizers. [passage omitted]

[Szabo] During the conference, there was much talk about the middle class, which it is very important to create. [passage omitted] Who are they, who belongs to this group, this national middle class—entrepreneurs, intellectuals, and so on?

[Antall] The middle class in Hungary has a bad name, related to the period between the two wars, like a bad after-taste. What we are saying and were saying has nothing to do with this. The middle class represents the social force that include all from the peasant farmers to skilled workers, from owners or cooperative members to university professors. So all those who are in accord with the sentence of Koelcsey [19th century Hungarian poet], which became our election slogan as well "Freedom and property," have commitments to parliamentary democracy, partly through property and partly through specialist knowledge. There are two factors that are not suitable for the operation of a well-functioning democracy: one is the faceless mass society, the other is a social model that we can observe in the Third World and which our political opponents like to quote as a frightening specter, as if we were aiming at this. There were such demagogues even within our party. [passage omitted]

It is obvious that in an economic and social system where a very wide circle in society and a circle that is in possession of power is not interested in creating a democracy there will never be a democracy. [passage omitted] A written constitution and legal system can only function effectively if it has a basis, and such a basis can only be such a wide middle group. Political will is directed, and this is done in every country and is not against other countries, but toward trying to protect our own interests. [passage omitted]

We are protecting our interests by trying to achieve as high a foreign investment as possible and by mixing it in the right proportion with Hungarian investments. Hungary has always been a capital-poor country. Therefore, our political aim is to have in this country a wide circle of bourgeoisie, middle class, in the proper and correct sense, with equality for all before the law, and to try to promote equal opportunities. Then we can indeed talk of democracy and about a secure state based on the law. [passage omitted]

[Szabo] My final question concerns what affects us journalists most, but I think perhaps not just us, that is

the press. You dealt with this question at the end of your closing speech and let me quote your words: The MDF can only hope for success if, even while maintaining the firmest policies, we can show a decent attitude and behavior. This decent tone, within the framework set by us, must indeed be established with the press as well. We can get along well with a press that demonstrates decent intentions and provides sharp criticism; let us try at long last."

How do you see the relations between the media and the government and between the press and the MDF at present?

[Antall] Just as I said, I would find it difficult to say more. I am a committed believer in the freedom of the press. My only wish is for them to be objective. As I listened to the reporting they again did not try to be so, so I would be glad if they begin to be objective as soon as possible. Indeed, I would like it if those who write correct and objective articles or commentaries did not feel afraid. Not of us, but of those circles that are simply terrorizing those people who indeed wish to provide independent, objective, and critical views. I hope this will become prevalent in the press and we have no problems with such a press. If this happens between the press and politics, and I am not talking only about the government but about the relations between parliament and the press as well, then, in my view, there will be no problems in the future.

Opposition Leaders View Conference

AU2601111793 Budapest MTI in English 1231 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, 25 Jan (MTI)—Leading opposition officials commented cautiously in Monday's [25 January] newspapers on whether last weekend's Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] convention had seen any real halt to the MDF's drift to the right.

The president of Hungary's largest opposition party, the Alliance of Free Democrats (AFD), Ivan Peto, points out to MAGYAR HIRLAP that the congress had failed to resolve any major problems. With the conflict between Jozsef Antall and Istvan Csurka given no special consideration, it seems that Antall, in a bid to keep power, made additional concessions against his original democratic position. No answer was given how Csurka's anti-capitalist principles could be harmonised with the government's official programme, Peto said. He also thought it an unfriendly gesture that the opposition had not been invited to the MDF congress.

Also in MAGYAR HIRLAP, Hungarian Socialist Party president Gyula Horn believed the MDF was past a hard trial, but nothing had changed in essence. He was glad Csurka had not taken over leadership of the party, which would have had disastrous effects on both the country's domestic peace and foreign relations.

Speaking to UJ MAGYARORSZAG, Viktor Orban, leader of the Federation of Young Democrats (FYD) in Parliament, said the main question was how the MDF leaders could find a way out of the political stalemate in which they have to carry out Antall's more moderate policy with a membership which apparently wants to have both Antall and Csurka in the party.

Horn Resigns as Chairman of Foreign Affairs Panel

LD2501155993 Budapest MTI in English 1523 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest January 25 (MTI)—Gyula Horn, president of the Hungarian Socialist Party, on Monday [25 January] announced to Parliament his resignation as chairman and member of Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee.

Previously, 13 MP's [members of parliament] from the committee's coalition parties (Hungarian Democratic Forum, Christian Democratic People's Party, Independent Smallholders' Party) called on Horn in a letter to leave the post which, in their view, is incompatible with his leadership of a political party.

Justice Minister Signs Accord With Lithuania*LD2601120593 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1000 GMT 26 Jan 93*

[Text] In Warsaw today the justice ministers of Poland and Lithuania, Zbigniew Dyka and Jonas Prapiestis, signed an agreement between the two states on legal assistance and relations with regard to civil, family, employment, and penal matters. Jonas Prapiestis will also be received by Deputy Prime Minister Pawel Laczowski.

No Illegal Sales of Uranium Reported*LD2501190293 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1600 GMT 25 Jan 93*

[Text] There are eight tonnes of fissionable elements in Poland—uranium, plutonium, and thorium. If the uranium were to be enriched there would be enough for the production of 10 nuclear charges. The elements are under strict monthly control—also by the International Atomic Agency. Every movement of every gram is very carefully noted. Of all the elements that show up in illegal sales none are ours.

Former Officials Trading in Radioactive Materials*AU2501190393 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 21 Jan 93 p 1*

[Report by Jerzy Jachowicz and Katarzyna Kesicka: "Uranium Notebooks"]

[Text] Mariusz Chudzik, press spokesman for the Warsaw prosecutor's office, informed GAZETA on Wednesday [20 January], that on Tuesday night, the Warsaw prosecutor's office arrested 52-year-old Kazimierz C. and 47-year-old Waldemar M. Those arrested—Kazimierz C. was a deputy minister of culture from 1986 to 1989 and Waldemar M. was an officer in the former Security Service—are involved in illegal trade in radioactive materials used in the production of nuclear weapons.

The prosecutor's office detained Kazimierz C. on Sunday. Kaliksta P. and Hanna R. were detained on the same day, but were released 48 hours later. Waldemar M. was detained on Monday. The prosecutor's office accuses the two of grossly endangering the lives and safety of other people.

One item of evidence for the charges is a film recording made using a hidden camera by journalists working for the German TV program "Monitor," who posed as arms dealers and filmed at the Warsaw Marriott Hotel on 17 December during a meeting with those under arrest. The recording shows that Kazimierz C. offered radioactive materials and expressed his readiness to obtain warheads for torpedoes.

Kazimierz C. admitted offering to sell uranium and plutonium while making a statement to the Office for the

Protection of the State. He said, however, that he was only a middleman and that only the owner of the materials knows where they are hidden—that is what we learned from a source close to the prosecutor's office.

Diaries and notebooks full of telephone numbers of persons involved in business for various Polish firms were found in the possession of those under arrest. They also contain the names and telephone numbers of people from various former Soviet republics, most probably functionaries of former special services. The names of rare metals and radioactive materials appear among the names.

Twenty citizens of the former USSR have been arrested in Brest and Minsk, and seven Poles have been arrested in Biala Podlaska Voivodship. Biala Podlaska prosecutor Kazimierz Szkodziński told a PAP journalist yesterday that they are all suspected of stealing uranium 238 isotopes and smuggling them into Poland.

Skubiszewski Speaks on Nation's Raison d'Etat*LD2201002093 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 0813 GMT 21 Jan 93*

[Speech by Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski, delivered on behalf of Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka, on the *raison d'etat* in view of the present political, economic, and social challenges; in the Sejm—live]

[Text] Mr. President of the Polish Republic, Mr. Speaker, Esteemed Chamber: The prime minister has requested that I deliver a reply to the question posed by the esteemed chamber, namely what is the Polish *raison d'etat* in view of the current political, economic, and social challenges?

The concept about which I am to talk does not appear in the index of the collected writings of Jozef Pilsudski. And after all, that statesman and military commander devoted his entire life to the service of the most fundamental aims and interests of Poland. Basically, the concept of *raison d'etat* appears either not at all or very rarely on the pages written by other leading [words indistinct] of Poland's political life, who have already passed into history. I mention Roman Dmowski, Wincenty Witos, and Ignacy Daszynski. But each one of them, however, served independent statehood selflessly and with a feeling of duty. Although one is unable to speak about the concept of *raison d'etat*, to define it, we do nevertheless know what it is and how to implement it, and that's how we're proceeding in the government. But the Sejm desires that it be defined and the government intends to satisfy that demand.

There are certain imponderables in the Polish *raison d'etat*, (?they are called) honor and respect, respect for oneself and for others. [applause] Respect for oneself means [words indistinct] such a formation of our foreign and domestic policy that we would always manage to effectively defend ourselves against having any kind of

decisions and solutions imposed on us by external factors. Such an attitude opens the correct path to cooperation with partners stronger than ourselves and to cooperation with smaller partners. Such an attitude does not rule out wise compromises [word indistinct] as a rule the essence of the policy. However, it simultaneously eliminates false compromises that are always dangerous. Politics is the art of the possible but it should also be the art of achieving greater aims. Those aims must continue to be great ones.

Mr. Speaker, in the government's understanding, Poland's *raison d'etat* requires that the regained sovereignty is consolidated in the coming years, that the state's security is constructed, that the economic and civilizational development of the nation and of society is supported, and that our position on the international scene, in particular in Europe, is strengthened. This is not an easy task and (?due to) the deep and quick pace of changes taking place in Poland's international environment [words indistinct], if one takes into consideration the scale of the problems that have created and are creating the political and economic transformation, for which neither ourselves nor the West drew up a joint strategy beforehand on a continental scale.

Our foreign policy has been and is coping with revolution and evolution in the international milieu, but the effectiveness of our external actions ultimately depends on the state's internal strength. Any kind of upset in the political equilibrium in Poland and any weakening of the state from within makes us a worse partner in international cooperation, and we cannot exist as a modern European state without this cooperation. To achieve the aims serving the *raison d'etat*, we must define our policy clearly: its strategic priorities and means, instruments, and methods. Without this, we will be condemned to drifting and inefficiency, which would have to end in disaster in this part of Europe. As a nation, we face the gigantic task of transforming the political system and the economy and of bringing our civilization up to date.

May it please the House! For Polish policy in the 1990's, the continent of Europe or, more broadly understood, the Euro-Atlantic region, will remain of strategic significance. This statement has a fundamental bearing on the understanding of our *raison d'etat*. The following are the priority tasks in the sphere of our vital interests in this region: first, to establish Poland's European orientation by gradually including it in integrational structures and networks of West European and North Atlantic interdependence. Second, the joint creation of a new European order, based on cooperation among states and coordination of international institutions, particularly on the joint creation of a pan-European security system. Third, the consolidation and development of the best possible relations with our neighbors. Fourth, the consolidation and deepening of new regional links in our part of Europe. Fifth, the development of bilateral cooperation in all spheres with the states of Western Europe and North America, i.e. the Euro-Atlantic dimension of our bilateral relations. I would add here that we are not

losing sight of the world beyond Europe. It is important to us. We are at the same time aware of the limits to action, dictated by our potential. Here, as elsewhere, we should take Poland's normal possibilities into account.

Mr. Speaker, external security is the fundamental element of our *raison d'etat*. The *raison d'etat* can, in fact, be brought down to security issues. It has two sides: one is the preservation of the substance of the state; the other is the development of that substance. In the latter case, the *raison d'etat* guarantees not only static security but also certainty and stability of development. The security factor is harnessed to the country's sociopolitical and economic situation and it is therefore very complex. The external situation, also with our participation, has taken shape in such a way that we are not at present threatened by aggression or armed intervention from any side. Poland is not a target for subjugation. We are not in danger of becoming a satellite; and if we can manage to put our own house in order, there will be no other negative conditions. In any case, state policy must create premises effectively protecting us from having anything imposed on us from outside. Let us add that none of our neighbors are striving for a revision of our borders. These facts are still favorable and it is the dictate not only of the moment but of our own *raison d'etat*, to take full advantage of those facts now, in both the domestic sphere and in foreign relations. The government is doing so.

A certain destabilization to the east of our border is taking place hand in hand, however, with the elimination of some traditional threats; and the development of the whole situation in this region has become hard to predict. So, while stating a lack of war threats and of hostility toward Poland from any state, we must be aware of the various possible dangers. Hence, the eastern direction—the developmental direction—of our policy was and remains so important. This statement in no way reduces the role of relations with other neighbors, nor does it mean indifference to the evolution and changes taking place to the west and south of our border. The situation to the east is special, however. So, besides normalizing bilateral relations and shaping them in the best possible way, our *raison d'etat* demands that we support the democratic transformations being made by our eastern neighbors as independent states. There is no better guarantee of stability on our eastern wall than the linking of independence with democracy. The government views this as our own and our neighbors' common interest.

Apart from the bilateral dimension, state security has its broader context. This is our concept of the *raison d'etat*. The government is energetically pursuing the policy—initiated just under three years ago—of specific measures leading to our link-up with the North Atlantic Alliance and to promoting the effective interest of this alliance in Central European security. This was and is a policy not of words, not of pious hopes, but of moving forward, step by step, from one stage to the next, from

eliminating various elements of indifference by the Alliance to it becoming convinced of the imperative need for a protective influence in our part of Europe. We have regarded and still regard the Atlantic Alliance as a pillar of security in the changed European configuration and the presence of U.S. troops in Europe is for us and for the whole of Central Europe a factor in the badly needed stabilization.

Poland, therefore, is entering into closer contacts, links, and cooperation with the North Atlantic Alliance. Activity in this sphere should exploit all possibilities. Thus conceived, the aim of our policy is therefore Poland's gradual and practical inclusion in the Alliance's security system. Our aim is NATO membership. Our *raison d'état* demands building an all-European CSCE security system.

May it please the House, we have signed an agreement on association with the European Community. It is a historic agreement. Although accepting the importance of economic problems as the essence of our relations with the Community lies within a political sphere together with a widely understood security sphere. The Community has been a political project from its beginnings. Relations with the Community which are the result of the consistent policy of our State since independence are concrete support of our external security and democratic transformation. It is a guarantee that naturally determines or makes our other relations with the West easy and strengthens security in other spheres. There are also ties with the Western European Union.

The sociopolitical and economic dimension of our *raison d'état*—that is our internal dimension— dovetails with the international dimension via connections with the European Community. Polish relations with the Community are dictated by the supreme interests of the state and nation. This attitude accurately anticipates future developments because none of the great contemporary problems can be solved on a national scale and in isolation. The European Community that we wish to associate with and later join is a bulwark of democracy and shows high economic and social efficiency. Let us remember that international relations in the 21st century will be dominated by cooperation between great economic and political communities built on foundations of civilization. Only the biggest states will be able to individually secure their prosperity. Others have to seek their chance in international communities.

There is no other way for Poland. However, at the same time, we have to remember the consequences that the association of Poland with the European Community brings. There are no easy and simple solutions here. First, however, misgivings have been voiced about the political future, about the economic future of our nation and state because of the manner of our integration. The government has those misgivings in mind. There are threats, there are problems in individual economic sectors. These threats and problems must not be ignored.

Mr. Speaker, here we come to the domestic, intrastate heart of the matter that has been put by the Sejm. The integration of foreign policy with domestic policy will determine the extent to which the imperatives flowing from the *raison d'état* do not remain on paper. The government is fully conscious of how very varied are the preconditions that are indispensable for the creation of a state strategy implementing the *raison d'état*. This differentiation is ever greater, for with every passing year the functioning of the state system, of economic mechanisms, and of the organization of society becomes more complex. The political state system, that is its constitutional arrangement, is of cardinal importance. This issue addresses whether the state is efficient and modern in the face of the tasks that stand before it and the developmental tendencies in our civilizational sphere.

The need of the moment is to formulate and adopt the constitution, and arising from that, to formulate the equipment of the state with a lasting and at the same time living constitutional law. The present government is implementing the strategy of the state in the framework of the Small Constitution, that renders efficient and stabilizes the functioning of the leading state bodies. The executive power has also been strengthened, which corresponds to the state interest and is in accordance with the more general tendency that is clearly seen, especially in the western states.

May it please the House, the security of the state is the essence of the *raison d'état*. It is thus associated most closely with defense policy. The international insurance of the state does not change in any respect the paramount importance of its defense capabilities. The defense doctrine of the Polish Republic serves our *raison d'état*. The condition of the defense potential is a difficult one. This potential must be made subject to deep restructuring. It is taking place today in relatively safe international surroundings. Changes are ensuing in the numbers, structure, and equipment of the army. The command structure and deployment of forces is changing. The Defense Ministry has been reformed. We have a new territorial system of organizing the armed forces. We value the significance of the national defense industry, and it is appropriate to defend and modernize it to the extent of our needs and possibilities.

Our entire system of defense, in all its layers, is being adapted to the needs of a democratic state, to the potential threats, and also to international obligations that are being shaped anew.

Mr. Speaker, maintaining the values comprising the *raison d'état* and promoting the interests that express it demand healthy economic foundations. Our task is all the more difficult because we must simultaneously carry out a systemic transformation of the national economy and a fundamental restructuring in parallel with a modernization corresponding to criteria of modernity on the eve of the new century. We must carry out all of this while relying mainly on our own strengths in a situation where domestic resources are wholly inadequate, and

where there is also a lack of accumulated national wealth, including capital and hard currency reserves. The government is undertaking this task while conscious of the fact that there will not be any quick successes here. The December strikes have recently demonstrated this. We must link the effort of transformation with the search to develop a strategy that will assure Poland the best place in the world economy and in the international division of labor that can reasonably be expected. The government will create the conditions supporting those areas of the economy that by virtue of systemic links among favorable factors will have the opportunity to achieve international success, becoming the speciality of our country, and that will assure it a lasting and favorable place in the world economy.

May it please the House, agriculture is and will remain such a priority. However, it requires significant modification, a different polish, so as to be able to defend itself in the open and modern world economy. The new economic system has caused changes in the economic conditions of agricultural production. This change draws after it a new policy in relation to agriculture and the countryside. The withdrawal of subsidies, new principles of management, market-based prices of agricultural products, the admission onto the Polish market of competitive goods from other countries, all of this has significantly reduced the profitability of agricultural production. The social significance of these facts is enormous, as agriculture is a sphere that employs 27 percent of the professionally active population, and 38 percent of citizens live in the countryside. By virtue of the social situation of the countryside and the specific character of agricultural production, transformations in this sphere can only take place in an evolutionary fashion. And such transformations in agricultural production must be assisted as we seek to reduce its costs and increase the profitability of agriculture, while maintaining a stable situation on the food market. The government is seeking efficient use of the funds allocated to improve the situation of the countryside. It financially supports activities intended to improve life, work, and enterprise in the countryside and to promote its multi-functional development. This means it is necessary to broaden the programs in the area of infrastructure, water supply, sewage treatment, and telecommunications. The government sees a need to fashion changes so that a reduction in employment in agriculture is not accompanied by a rapid migration from the countryside to the towns. The government intends to support the creation of new jobs in the countryside, apart from agriculture, a levelling of the standard of education, and the adaptation of health service needs to countryside requirements.

Farmers should be able to participate on favorable terms in the privatization of enterprises that work in the agricultural environment. The methods of intervention in the agricultural market should strive toward such spending of resources from the budget as will make the economic success of the farm depend mainly on the farmer. At the same time, as inflationary phenomena

settle down and the interest on agricultural loans goes down, budgetary resources should gradually be moved from subsidizing the loans to assisting investment in the countryside.

Mr. Speaker, the strategy which flows from our *raison d'etat* requires sound national currency and good public finance. Currently, the government is striving to reduce inflation, or at least to preserve the existing achievements in that respect. This is necessary to be able to control the budget deficit and achieve planned expenditure. Let us remember that various particular and group interests do not add up to the interests of the state and its *raison d'etat*. [applause]

We are only just creating modern finance. It is necessary to rebuild state revenues and change the structure of the budget. The system of public finance should be stable. The reform of the tax system will be completed. Citizens have to know the range of taxes they pay. After all, they not only square accounts with the state by making demands but also want to know how it spends the money. The principles of replenishing the state and parish budgets have to be clear and stable.

It is in the highest interests of the state to lessen the burden of foreign debts.

May it please the House, the issue of investments is also a fundamental issue. In particular, I am referring to increasing the domestic capital earmarked for investment. In view of the fact that over the next five years we have to allocate at least half the increase in the national product for investment and the rest for increasing consumption, retaining wage controls is inevitable. The government supports in every way the influx of foreign capital to our market. This influx provides jobs, income from taxation, and an improved economic situation. That it why it is so important to set in motion various mechanisms of growth that promote profitable investment. In this respect, privatization of state property moves into first place. The public sector, expanded after 1945, currently produces more than 70 percent of industrial output. The government intends to transform this sector into a source of national wealth. The government sets itself the aim of as wide a privatization as possible. This is dictated by the need for the country's economic development.

But even before the conclusion of the privatization process, state enterprises should improve their efficiency and adapt to the demands of modern competition. The new principles of managing these enterprises should guarantee protection of state property from degradation. The workforces, the managing personnel, and the trade unions should participate in deciding the future of state enterprises, their transformation, and reform. It is a question of determining the principles and conditions under which state enterprises should operate and change.

Mr. Speaker, I am [words indistinct] separately the significant role of education, from primary to academic, in fashioning the basis without which there can be no

understanding of the *raison d'etat* of the Polish Republic. I should recall [16th century statesman] Jan Zamoyski's words: The republic always reflects the education of its youth. [applause]

Soon state reserves should make it possible to direct greater resources for the physical and programmatic development of education. This also applies to various forms of civic education. Civic and pro-state attitudes are one of the fundamental foundations of the *raison d'etat* in modern Western societies. Identification with your own state should, like elsewhere, become a spontaneous value in our country.

May it please the House, the universal civilizational and economic aspects of the *raison d'etat* require scientific and technological development. We know that in this period which is difficult for us, state expenditure on the development of these fields is insufficient. With the appearance of an improvement in the state of our economy there appears hope—alas still remote—that we will be able to allocate more resources to this field. Its rebirth, the rebirth of this field, will be one of the foundations of our economic health in the future.

We also know the value of national scientific and technological achievements for the security of the state. Here, too, we have to create our spheres of national specialization.

May it please the House, Poland must be a state with a social market economy. It must implement social welfare security for its citizens. That is why the government acknowledges the obligation to specify the principles for the protection of this security. It also feels responsible for the creation of conditions that favor the removal of the causes of poverty. There should be a division of responsibility between the state, the employer, the individual, and groups of citizens. The state is obliged to support collective and individual activity that enables the acquisition of resources for the maintenance of individuals and families. The state will support citizens in their professional and social activity; it will guarantee the social welfare security of citizens at a minimum level and will also assure the efficiency of the exploitation of public resources intended for this purpose. The employer should have the assurance of economic efficiency and employees should be guaranteed minimum wages. Individuals and groups finding themselves in a difficult situation should be supported by associations, foundations, social organizations, churches and denominational organizations, and also self-help groups. It is especially appropriate to be directed by the aim of the individual regaining the ability to function independently. The basic form of activity should be assistance that does not make the recipient dependent upon the giver, and which also creates the possibility of regaining independence and of bringing help to others. The system of welfare payments should place barriers against abuses and demoralization.

Family policy is a significant part of social policy. The object of special concern is families stumbling across difficulties in fulfilling their basic tasks.

Mr. Speaker, I found the following definition in a foreign dictionary: The *raison d'etat* is regard for a higher interest that is appealed to in a state when activity takes place against the law and against justice. The government rejects such an understanding of the *raison d'etat*. Quite the contrary, observance of the law is a component of our concept, together with implementation of the dictates of the law. This is the postulate of a just and secure state. The government feels that defense of the principles of justice in public life and the assurance for citizens of security is a basic obligation. The actions of institutions bearing responsibility for observance of the legal order must be effective.

May it please the House, a few words by way of conclusion. We all seek the greatness of Poland and greatness for Poland. Many years ago, Roman Dmowski [pre-World War I and interwar politician, rival of Pilsudski] wrote of a state that has sufficient strength and resources, that also has a directing idea, able to range over a fairly wide perspective, so that its policy is able to influence not only the most urgent matters directly concerning it, but also to take part in the regulation of general European matters, and, as today, worldwide ones, end quote. Let us remember, however, that in seeking greatness, a state and nation must observe public morality. They should not fear morality, that morality that arises from our Christian roots. We cannot tear our concept of the *raison d'etat* away from morality and respect for the rights of the individual. Here too lies the requirement for complete social peace and the need for its permanent construction, despite certain failures. Is this not just the requirement of the moment, but of our national *raison d'etat*? The words of Pope John Paul II come to mind here when at the start of his second pilgrimage to this country he wished Poland peace. Let us not forget about engagement in the cause of peace. And so, speaking of the *raison d'etat*, should we not today develop an awareness ourselves, precisely in this chamber, that a necessary component is the accord of political forces, national accord? Is it not appropriate today to recall the words of Jozef Pilsudski, spoken after the battle of 1926 [May putsch], that a new sowing of brotherhood is required, one that will declare a truth mutual to all brothers. Pilsudski spoke these words at the moment when, as he put it himself, I quote, when around us rows and party jealousy will be raging, when hatred is smouldering. Should we not pass from that which divides to that which unites, to a situation in which that which has divided becomes only, again I quote Pilsudski, a memory of a violent quarrel between brothers who love each other and love their family? Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

Officer Accused of Spying for USSR on Trial

AU2501190993 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish
21 Jan 93 p 1

[Report by Pawel Fafara and Piotr Wysocki: "A USSR Agent on Trial"]

[Text] The trial of a former Polish Army officer accused of spying for the former USSR is starting at the Warsaw Military District Court today. The accused gave himself up, according to Lieutenant-Colonel Slawomir Gorzkiewicz, chief of the Warsaw Military District.

The accused officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Adam S., used to work in central institutions of the Warsaw Military District. He reported voluntarily to the Warsaw prosecutor's office in December 1991 as an officer of the reserve, having already been discharged from the regular army for other offenses. He claims to have worked for Soviet intelligence for several years. On the basis of his claim, the prosecutor's office initiated investigations on 4 December 1991. This is the first time in over 50 years that someone has been on trial for spying for the USSR.

The evidence that has been gathered is based mainly on the accused's own statements. The Military Information Service has tried to verify the information provided by Lieutenant-Colonel S., but without any major success because until the end of the 1980's, the USSR received some of the secret material "legally," and it is difficult to distinguish between espionage and normal cooperation within the framework of the Warsaw Pact.

The Military Information Service also does not have adequate knowledge of the structure and work methods of the Soviet intelligence services in Poland, as it used to concentrate on monitoring Western intelligence services instead. And yet USSR intelligence employed methods that had already been rejected by Western services. Intelligence officers assumed a different name every time they came to Poland. Photographs of people who might have been agents with whom Lieutenant-Colonel S. had dealings do not furnish conclusive evidence either.

The possibility of psychiatric illness on the part of Lieutenant-Colonel S. has been ruled out, and on 7 December 1991 the indictment against him was submitted to the court. If he upholds his previous statements during his trial, he could receive anything from five years imprisonment to the death sentence. In the case of a death sentence, the court could commute the sentence to 10 years in prison on the basis of Article 125 of the Criminal Code, which permits such a commutation if the accused gives up his criminal activity and explains the circumstances behind it.

But if Adam S. retracts the statements he has made, he might be released for lack of evidence.

Government Wants Non-Secret Information Service

AU2501160993 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish
20 Jan 93 p 5

[Report by Igor Janke and Piotr Zaremba: "The Government Wants Information Independent of the Office for the Protection of the State"]

[Text] The Office of the Council of Ministers [URM] has requested regional administrative offices to set up a 24-hour information service. The voivodes will gather information from the field and pass it on to the URM in the form of weekly socioeconomic roundups and daily, monthly, and quarterly reports. Sources close to the URM tell us that the government will seek similar information from the chief executives of cities.

This is another stage in the fulfillment of URM chief Jan M. Rokita's pledge to create an efficient system of information. Shortly after assuming his post, Rokita set up a special information unit employing several people farmed out from the Office for the Protection of the State [UOP]. Opposition politicians claim that the new information service is to make the government at least partly independent of the UOP and its information, for the UOP is controlled by the Interior Ministry, and Interior Minister Andrzej Milczanowski is closely linked to the Belweder [presidential residence].

Rokita himself claims that the information to be supplied by the voivodes does not duplicate the activity of the UOP. "The voivodes, as the government's representatives in the field, are to see to it that the government knows what is going on in each voivodship and is acquainted with what local communities think and what the political parties and the administration are doing," Rokita told ZYCIE. "However, the work of the UOP is secret. That is the difference."

The information is to cover the work of parties, social organizations, and local government bodies. It will also include dangers to human life and the economy, opinions on the work of local government bodies, and "shifts in social moods."

Union of Labor Inaugurates First Congress

AU2601105693 Warsaw PAP in English 1856 GMT
23 Jan 93

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 23—Over 300 delegates on Saturday [23 January] inaugurated the first congress of the Union of Labour (UP) which claims about 7,000 members.

In the opening address Aleksander Malachowski announced that the UP did not intend to compete for power but wanted to be present "wherever something can be done for Poland and the interests of working people."

Party leader Ryszard Bugaj declared that the UP would oppose the neoliberal changes occurring in Poland and present its own alternative vision for the development of the country. He added that his party would defend parliamentary democracy and the rights of the individual as well as oppose "attempts to legally expropriate religious values."

Karol Modzelewski said that a change in Poland's economic strategy would become possible only after the

political scene had changed so that "left and right should mean at last what they really mean."

Guest speakers from other parties were invited to the congress. Tadeusz Mazowiecki of the Democratic Union (UD) told the delegates that he hoped that despite "all the programmatic differences the UP and UD would together promote stabilisation in Poland."

Aleksander Luczak from the Polish Peasant Party (PSL) hoped that the PSL and UP could form a "centre left" by their cooperation.

Włodzimierz Cimoszewicz from the Parliamentary Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) thought that "the reason for the success of the Union of Labour lies in its openness to various circles of the Polish left." Like Polish Socialist Party (PPS) chairman Piotr Ikonowicz and the chairwoman of the OPZZ All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions, he thought that the UP, SLD and PPS should draw up a joint alternative economic programme for the left.

The guest speaker from the Socialist International, its deputy chairman Alfred Gusenbauer, expressed his satisfaction at the "consolidation of the Polish left."

In a draft programmatic resolution discussed today the congress delegates described the Union of Labour as a "social democratic party representing the interests of the working community" and announced an alternative social-economic programme opposing neoliberal economic concepts. The delegates said that the party should fight for a stable social security system and the relaxation of monetary and credit policy and against economic policies discriminating the state-run sector.

Most of the delegates declared themselves to be in favour of a single-chamber parliament as well as the referendum as a means of resolving major social issues, such as abortion. The delegates accepted the party's statute and carried out the first round of elections to the national council.

Problems Facing President Clinton Assessed

AU2501192993 Bucharest DIMINEATA in Romanian
20 Jan 93 p 1

[Article by Mihai Fabian: "The White House Has a New Tenant"]

[Text] The President of the United States of America, Bill Clinton, has been installed in the White House for a mandate of (at least) four years. He arrived in Washington from Charlottesville together with his family and Vice President Al Gore on a special bus. The fact that he chose such a way to arrive in the capital has its significance, closely connected with his electoral campaign, during which he promised to build a new United States, a strong United States, both on externally as well as internally. In 1801, President Jefferson, one of the founders of the United States of America, travelled the same route in a coach. These two moments, distant from each other in time, nonetheless become close at the point when the two presidents propose the same thing: to build a strong homeland for all Americans.

Certainly, the historical and social economic conditions in which the 42d U.S. President starts his activity are different. At first sight, Bill Clinton has an advantage. The United States has won two wars: the one with Iraq and the Cold War; and it made an essential contribution to the dissolution of the communist system, the unification of the two Germanies, the liberation of Kuwait—all these should bring him more friends from beyond his borders.

However, the greater part of the legacy left behind by President George Bush is less comforting—not only on the domestic front, but also on the foreign one. Thus, the United States cannot feed and educate all its sons, the inflation and unemployment are still very high, and social tension is difficult to control. Only now is the United States beginning to look at itself to give priority to the serious internal problems brought about by an immense public debt and an extremely large budgetary deficit. In fact, the difficult economic situation inherited by Bill Clinton was the "whipping boy" in the electoral campaign that ensured his success. Now, the time for payment has arrived and the new president will have to keep his promises.

On the external front, things seem to be a little simpler, although the conflicts in Bosnia-Herzegovina and in Iraq will ultimately require U.S. engagement. The other points of conflict (Angola, Somalia) are more remote from the "gunpowder barrel," so they can be considered rather less important. However, they cannot be ignored either.

The U.S. President is 47 years old, in great shape, and special tasks are hovering over him in these changing times. In order to win, he will need every bit of the strength that he displayed during the electoral campaign.

Yugoslav Ships Continue Voyage on Danube

AU2501210693 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Foreign Ministry spokesman Mircea Geoana informed our correspondent that in spite of repeated attempts by the Romanian Port Authorities to stop the Yugoslav tugboat Bihac and the barges that belong to it, they continue to sail on the Romanian-Bulgarian part of the Danube. The Romanian and Bulgarian authorities are cooperating in this respect, given that the captain of the Bihac is threatening to set its cargo on fire. The Romanian authorities are considering with the utmost seriousness the dangerous effects that firmer intervention could have. In addition, three other Yugoslav ships, coming from the direction of (Reni) and also carrying cargoes of oil, are moving toward Yugoslavia. They have not answered the orders from the Braila and Hirsova Port Authorities to halt. Parallel to these orders and the repeated attempts of the Romanian Port Authorities to stop the ships in accordance with UN Resolution 787, the Committee of Sanctions 724 was notified about both cases and will pronounce a verdict on the situation.

The Romanian authorities, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said, approached the Yugoslav authorities again to explain the danger to which Yugoslavia is exposing itself through the serious violation of a UN resolution, given the complex nature of the existing problems.

The Yugoslav authorities freed six Romanian ships, including the Vaslui, Valea Alba, Isaccea, Europa, Jaristea, and Giurgiu, but continue to detain the four barges that accompanied the Europa. Citing information from the Transportation Ministry, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said that nine Yugoslav ships are being detained in the Romanian ports of Galati and Braila.

UN Embargo on Iraq Causes 'Extensive Loss'

AU2601105893 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0920 GMT 26 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 26/1/1993—Two years after the conflict between Iraq and the United Nations, the Romanian state continues to suffer extensive loss as a consequence of that conflict. The deputy general directors of the Rompetrol Company, Lucian Tamba and Nicolae Mihalache, reveal in an interview granted to the EXPRES REVIEW that Rompetrol still have 10 oil rigs kept idle by the Iraqi Government in Basrah and Mossul Areas (Iraq). The Iraqi Government considered the rigs had lawfully become Iraqi property after being confiscated during the conflict, as a result of Romania's becoming an ally of the United Nations.

The total loss recorded by Rompetrol as a consequence of that conflict is going over \$52 million, to which extensive loss was added after stopping drilling operations in Jordan.

Vacaroiu Receives Polish Foreign Minister*AU2601110293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0910 GMT 26 Jan 93*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 26/1/1993—The Polish foreign minister, Krzysztof Skubiszewski, was received Monday, January 25, by the Romanian premier, Nicolae Vacaroiu.

Opinions were exchanged on the evolution of the reform and the stage of the privatisation process in Romania and Poland. The parties said they were favoring the development of the links between Romania and Poland, through economic agreements.

Premier Vacaroiu asked his guest to invite, on his behalf, his Polish counterpart to pay a visit to Romania.

Skubiszewski Meets With Melescanu*LD2501145993 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1105 GMT 25 Jan 93*

[Dispatch by correspondent Andrzej Jelenski from Bucharest]

[Text] Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski has begun an official visit to Romania. The head of Polish diplomacy arrived in Bucharest two hours ago. At noon, local time, at the headquarters of the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a one-on-one meeting was held between the ministers of foreign affairs of Poland and Romania, Krzysztof Skubiszewski and Teodor Melescanu. The first round of plenary talks was held at the same time. Bilateral political relations as well as economic cooperation and the development of the situation in central and eastern Europe were discussed.

At this time Minister Skubiszewski is paying a visit to Romania's President Ion Iliescu at Cotroceni Palace. The president is to be present at the signing of an agreement between the Polish Republic and Romania on friendly relations and cooperation and of a consular convention between the two states. The ministers of the two states will sign the two documents.

Minister Skubiszewski's meeting with Romania's prime minister and the continuation of plenary talks are scheduled for the afternoon.

Agreements Signed With Poland*LD2501174693 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1400 GMT 25 Jan 93*

[Report by Andrzej Jelenski from Bucharest]

[Text] An agreement on friendly relations and cooperation and a consular agreement between Poland and Romania were signed today. President Ion Iliescu was present.

[Jelenski] The documents signed by the ministers of foreign affairs of Poland and Romania, Krzysztof

Skubiszewski and Teodor Melescanu, especially the treaty, open possibilities for properly understood cooperation in the political, economic, scientific, and cultural areas between the two states and nations. The signing of the documents was preceded by face-to-face talks of the two heads of diplomacy and plenary talks, as well as a half-hour talk between Krzysztof Skubiszewski and President Ion Iliescu.

More on Signing*AU2501203493 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1400 GMT 25 Jan 93*

[Text] A signing ceremony for the friendship and cooperation treaty and a consular convention between Romania and Poland was held at Cotroceni Palace today. The documents were signed by Foreign Ministers Teodor Melescanu and Krzysztof Skubiszewski.

In a speech, Melescanu stressed that the documents represent a new start for materializing the joint will to update the bilateral legal framework and to put bilateral relations on a new foundation within the framework of the thoroughgoing changes in Romania and Poland.

Skubiszewski noted that the act of signing this treaty is within the context of good Romanian-Polish traditions, with particular emphasis on bilateral cooperation. We are regional neighbors and both countries are promoting a policy of regional stability. I am convinced that our cooperation will be a real element of stability, Skubiszewski stressed.

Prior to the signing of the treaty, Skubiszewski met with President Ion Iliescu, to whom he conveyed greetings from the Polish president. The Polish foreign minister stressed that in the near future particular efforts have to be made to relaunch bilateral relations, particularly economic ones.

Iliescu expressed his hope that today's event will be a highlight in bilateral relations, relations that have a long history.

Defense Ministers Discuss Cooperation*AU2601105293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1002 GMT 26 Jan 93*

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 26/1/1993—On his way to Hungary, the Albanian minister of defense, Safet Xhulali, stopped, January 25, in Bucharest to meet his Romanian counterpart, Lieutenant-General Nicolae Spiroiu.

The two analyzed the stage of the ties between the armies of the two countries, in the spirit of an understanding between the Romanian and Albanian Defense Ministries on military cooperation, signed in Bucharest on October 7, 1992.

Iliescu, Constantinescu Meet German Delegation

AU2601113593 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0916
GMT 26 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 26/1/1993—Romanian President Ion Iliescu received on January 25 evening Franz Pirkel, president of the Hans Seidel Foundation of Munich. The German foundation specializes in researches in politics and gives assistance on request, carrying on activity in over 60 countries across the world for the consolidation of political structures.

Anton Rossbach, Germany's ambassador in Bucharest, and Traian Chebeleu, presidential adviser and spokesman attended.

The delegation of the Hans Siedel Foundation, headed by Dr. Fritz Pirkel, chairman of the German foundation and member of the European parliament, met Monday 25 January, with leaders of parties in the Democratic Convention of Romania.

In his address, Professor Dr. Emil Constantinescu, president of the convention, stressed that, despite ideological disparities and even divergent opinions, the political formations in the Democratic Convention of Romania hold the same desiderata of a true democracy in Romania. Showing that presently in Romania politics cannot be divided by concrete measures in the economic and social life, Emil Constantinescu informed the guests about the Democratic Convention's programme to integrate Romania in Europe. We are convinced that our programme, with its strategy and immediate tactics are in the Romanian nation's interests, outlined the president of the convention. He also remarked, in context, that if the present leadership fulfill the reform programme, the Democratic Convention will support it in parliament, and also on a civic plane, because the convention wants stability in Romania. In the same respect, Emil Constantinescu mentioned an optimistic view hold by the Democratic Convention of Romania regarding the future of Romania: We believe that Romania's slow evolution in the post-totalitarian period, as compared to other ex-communist states, can become a positive fact.

Emil Constantinescu justified his idea by showing that a slower but steady heading towards democracy in Romania could avoid certain extremist-nationalist-communist manifestations that showed up in other ex-socialist countries too.

Negritoiu Sees No 'Alternative' to Reform

AU2501162693 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian
19 Jan 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Misu Negritoiu, minister of state and chairman of the Council for Coordination, Strategy, and Economic Reform, by Ion Marin; place and date not given: "Reform Cannot Be Conceived Outside National Interests"]

[Text] [Marin] There is talk about the Reform Council being either a super-ministry or a second government, with some claiming that it has nothing to do in concrete terms, while others say it has too much to do. What is the truth, Mr. Minister?

[Negritoiu] Despite claims that the government has not yet begun to work, I would like to say that its activity has entered a normal course and this is quite noticeable. In this respect, the Council for Coordination, Strategy, and Economic Reform has completed its organizational structuring and is now working with its own apparatus, which consists of a department for economic reform and a directorate for the legislative, administrative, and institutional reform of the social sectors. Moreover, the Council's proceedings are also being attended by the Department for European Integration plus a number of other institutions, such as the National Forecasts Commission, the ARD [the Romanian Development Agency], the ANP [the National Privatization Agency], and others. This confers an integrational and coherent structure on the Council and allows it a global and systematic approach to all the economic, social, administrative, and legal problems facing the country in this transition stage, in order to implement the reform with the fewest errors and lowest social costs possible. We are in the process of producing 30 studies for each of various branches, with contributions by experts from the Economic Research Institute, from ministries, and from the Academy. On the basis of these studies, we will draw up a composite document to be published at the end of this month or the beginning of February. This document will be the foundation of the government program to be submitted to Parliament.

[Marin] Nevertheless, Mr. Minister, I notice a certain contradiction. On the one hand, you are at the stage of accumulating and evaluating data; on the other hand, you are sending a huge package of mainly economic draft laws to Parliament. Do these draft bills belong to the current government or the Stolojan cabinet?

[Negritoiu] The process of reform is not beginning now. It is not as if we were making a totally fresh start. We are only bringing an extra dose of coherence to this reform and are putting some logical order into certain processes already launched. We are putting together the elements of a system which can be directed forward in a better and surer way than if these pieces were separate and there were a risk of losing control over them. Therefore, there is already a basis, primarily a legislative one. The package of bills you are referring to has been fully revised and we have checked whether the suggested solutions are in accordance with the principles of the market economy. In many instances, we opted for other legal solutions.

[Marin] Nevertheless, there is some talk about a change of direction and a slowdown of the reform, a restoration, and a resurrection of certain outdated structures. From

what you have told me, I infer that there can be no such thing as a break, but rather a continuation. What is the truth?

[Negritoiu] I believe there should be no break at all. There are legislative matrices that must function. The implementation and institutionalization of legislative measures, institutions, and mechanisms of the market economy should be the goal of our government. The trouble is that many of these institutions are new and lack the necessary infrastructures. For example, the State Property Fund must administer, restructure, and privatize more than 6,000 companies; for this, it needs quite a large apparatus, which needs time to be set up. We are now discussing and defining the prerogatives of these institutions, as they are stipulated by the law, that is the prerogatives of the State Property Fund, the Private Property Fund, and the ministries, with a view to establishing what each one of them can do with regard to the administration, restructuring, and privatization of enterprises.

[Marin] Despite this position promulgated by the politically colorless team making up your Council, you are being personally challenged and even subjected to a concerted attack. Why do you think this is happening?

[Negritoiu] I believe the transition is apolitical, as I have also said in Parliament. You may have different political concepts of human rights, social relations, and so forth; but the transition is a technical process of setting up the institutions and structures of the market economy, toward which there can be no political alternative. As for stages, economic concepts, and measures, this is another matter. There is only one road: reform and privatization. Therefore, I was not interested in the political options of my aides. I was even embarrassed to ask them about their political inclinations, but I know that none of them is actively involved in politics. I put together my team on the criteria of professionalism and compatibility of working styles. As for the attacks you referred to, I do not know what they are concretely aiming at. Nevertheless, I am worried by the fact that they are not primarily aimed at me—had it been so, they would have come sooner—but rather at the current government. It is obvious that there are many people who are not pleased with the way in which we conceive the future course of reform, although there are not great differences in this respect. Maybe it has only to do with the positions of certain people and group interests. What is certain is that, as far as I am concerned, I do not intend to give in to such pressures, but I will continue to go about my job, together with the collection of experts I mentioned before, in order to complete this program. As I have already said, everything I had to say about myself and my biography, I said at the respective parliamentary hearing.

[Marin] The key point of the reform is the restructuring of industry. This is a key target of the current government, along with structural adjustment. I would like to ask you what place do you give to national interests in this process?

[Negritoiu] The national interest prevails in everything we are doing—of course, without exaggerations and nationalist extremism. Regarding the industrial restructuring you referred to, we have to overcome two hurdles: on the one hand, pride in our industry, with its so-called "pivot," and, on the other hand, the extremism of those who do not recognize anything of what has been achieved in the past and want to destroy the industrial colossuses and practically everything. Between these two reactions, we must find a solution on the basis of the laborious studies that I referred to, by primarily proceeding from our national interests. I will make a parenthesis and say that the most informed and well-intentioned foreign circles have the same interests as we have in this respect. It is also to their advantage that a market for raw materials and finished products should also exist in Romania and that our skilled and competitive labor force should be stabilized and utilized.

Consequently, we will find solutions for each case if we proceed from the two main criteria of restructuring, namely the comparative advantages for Romania and international specialization. For small enterprises, the solution is privatization through the MEBO [expansion unknown] method, which, in my opinion, has the greatest future in Romania. I am convinced that, after privatization, the managers and the shareholders will know how to find the best solutions so as not to lose their money. Reviving the technology and recycling the manpower will be two more techniques to use widely, either with state support or with the support of domestic and foreign investors. Attracting foreign capital is a major strategy, but we cannot rely on it in the case of the colossuses because the West does not like such investment. However, we have a great advantage: the Eastern market. Together with other considerations, this leads me to believe that our colossuses need not necessarily be closed down, either. I had a meeting with the managers of the great enterprises and I was surprised to note that the situation is not as catastrophic as imagined, and that they can survive. The colossuses can be reduced or changed, but they must not and cannot be destroyed. Anyhow, I will not choose a radical or predetermined solution.

[Marin] We are talking about long-term programs and strategies, while the government is sitting on a ticking bomb that has not yet been defused, namely, the problem of bread and of wheat that has to be imported. What can you tell us about this issue and the state of agriculture in general?

[Negritoiu] In the short run, there is no other solution but to resort to imports; otherwise, the mistake cannot be rectified. Nevertheless, we have already initiated urgent

programs to secure foodstuff supplies. The reform process itself depends on ensuring the necessary food resources, provided it can place the running of agriculture, as well as all the other sectors, on economic and commercial bases. Agriculture has remained one of the most centralized sectors as far as prices are concerned. We would not be in the current situation if prices had been freed, rather than being kept below free market prices, even as late as one year ago, when the question of wheat and corn became acute. We would have purchased much larger quantities from private producers and we would not have been put in a position of having to resort to such imports. We could have done that even if we had had to subsidize certain products—as we are doing anyway with the imported goods—to protect consumers. At least, this would have amounted to open subsidies and the money would have reached our own producers and stimulated domestic production. The problems of agriculture are extremely complex in our country, because we have inherited the most centralized of systems, which had plenty of time to destroy the tools, the mentalities, the habits, and everything else. Merely returning the land to the people's ownership without anything else cannot change much. Nevertheless, agriculture will play a primary role in this country in the future, even though its share in the gross domestic product will not change by very much. This is because the service sector will register huge growth, as in the developed countries.

I do not want to anticipate anything before I look at the analyses and studies that I referred at the beginning of this interview, but we must be optimistic. I would even go so far as to say that there is no alternative to that.

Organization of Specialized Structures Viewed

AU2501215293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1822
GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 25/1/1993—Monday, January 25, the extraordinary session of the Romanian Parliament began in Bucharest. The two chambers will meet in joint sittings.

The agenda of the session includes inter alia the setting up of the Romanian Parliament's specialized structures for interparliamentary organizations. The latter item refers to the designation of the members of the Romanian group for the Interparliamentary Union, the designation of the Bucharest-Chisinau Interparliamentary Commission, the election of the Romanian Parliament's delegations at the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, the Parliamentary Assembly of the CSCE, the European Parliament, the North Atlantic Assembly, the Assembly of Western Europe and the International Assembly of French-Speaking parliaments.

Also to be elected is the Romanian delegation at the Parliamentary Assembly of the Black Sea Countries.

Dissatisfaction With Government Declared

AU2601092893 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian
14 Jan 93 p 3

[Article by Ioan Frincu and Augustus Costache: "The National Consultative Council Leaders Make Statement on the Current Government: There Could Be No Worse Alternative"]

[Excerpt] The unequivocal conclusion that may be drawn from the views expressed by Mr. Miron Mircea during the [13 January] news conference of the CNC [National Consultative Council of the trade unions] is that apart from the president of Romania, we also have an Iliescu-Parliament and an Iliescu-government. Asked whether he could offer a better alternative, he replied as quoted in the title ["There could be no worse alternative"]. The opinions expressed could be no more favorable, considering that food products have become 14 times more expensive than they were in October 1990, while nonedible items cost 12 times more (according to the official data which were "rounded off"), that inflation (officially) has gone up 170 percent over 1992—but calculated more correctly the figure is 200 percent—while the number of unemployed has exceeded 1 million, that is, about 10 percent of the active population. The promise made by the president during the election campaign—about creating one million new job opportunities—has gone with the wind in the same way as the rest of his electoral promises have. The implementation of international norms concerning the three-party relations [bodies consisting of government, union, and employer representatives to settle labor conflicts] has also been continually postponed by the government, which—in exchange for that—proclaimed as a success the restoration of the notorious government-union joint commissions that have been rejected by all union organizations. At the same time, desperately needing to find scapegoats for the hopeless situation to which they have brought the country, the unions are being blamed for everything that has happened over the last three years. Those in power—who are excellently and zealously served by their most confirmed instrument—television—which misleads, distorts, and manipulates, can afford to do whatever they please, including putting the blame on others because they themselves are the least culpable. That is why they even barred the only television program entitled "Forum," in which the unions could express their views. The CNC is demanding that this program should resume and be broadcast at prime time.

The CNC is currently consulting all the opposition forces to try to elaborate a joint alternative draft program for Romania's economic and social restructuring.

Talking about other issues, the CNC leaders have revealed that pressure is being exerted for the closing down of certain profitable factories, the suspected goal being the destruction of industry for the benefit of certain high-ranking individuals. One should consider

that the third postrevolutionary government [of Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu] has not taken a single step to stabilize the economy, let alone relaunch it, which for the time being is out of the question. The CNC leaders illustrated this by mentioning a few such factories, where the employees are already being or will be subjected to alternating technical unemployment: The Electrosigma company in Cluj, IMGB, the Tohan company in Zarnesti, and others. The press could also be affected, because the Bacau paper and cellulose factory may also halt production within two weeks.

If the government takes no measures and the dialogue, which began yesterday, between [Minister of State, Chairman of the Council for Coordination, Strategy, and Economic Reform] Misu Negritoiu and the CNC leaders turns out to be a "farce," they are going to organize local rallies (actually, such rallies have already been held by employees of various industrial companies), which will be followed by gradually increasing general [mass] rallies, to avoid causing a social explosion. However, as the union leaders put it, "social tension is building up more rapidly than originally thought as a response to the government's actions."

From the funds of the former UGSR [the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania] currently administered by the CNC, about 350 million lei have been used in 1992 for various investment schemes, for aid sent to the Bessarabian population, and for subsidizing the daily REALITATEA ROMANEASCA [a trade union daily]. The bank did not grant the 200 million lei additionally requested for the support of everyday bankruptcies [sentence as published]. The CNC leaders promised to offer the press, in the first days of March, a detailed balance sheet of the funds administered over 1992. [passage omitted]

Coposu Addresses UDMR Congress in Brasov

AU2501153393 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian
16 Jan 93 pp 1, 4

[Speech by Corneliu Coposu, president of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party, at the 3d Congress of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania, in Brasov on 15 January]

[Text] Mr. President, Honored Congress: I bring you greetings from the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD].

The geopolitical, human migrations, and historical changes have re... universal heterogeneous regions in all meridians, variety of panoramas of people in which native ethnic groups have intermingled with groups of cohabiting nationalities.

Modern moral concepts and progressive thinking have established the rules and norms for the harmonious cohabitation of ethnic groups and measures to ensure the equality of rights for all citizens, as well as their duties.

In our country, for centuries on end, groups of people that belong to different nations have lived here together with the majority Romanian population.

Throughout history, controversies and confrontations have occurred among these ethnic groups. Some of these controversies were related to the independence of the groups that live in direct relationship and on a permanent basis together, while other controversies were deliberately instigated and artificially sustained. Ethnic intermingling ended in conflicting relations, which stemmed from antagonism and discord. Still, if we were to compare these situations with the periods of positive cooperation, the balance would lean toward peaceful and quiet coexistence, which generates prosperity. In the global balance, from the point of view of quality, relations involving a mutually beneficial consensus have been more extended and more substantial than those of confrontation.

The PNTCD doctrine on the issue of ethnic minorities is based on the provisions included in the 1 December 1918 Resolution of Alba Iulia, on the Charter of Human Rights and Freedoms, on the documents of the United Nations and the CSCE, as well as on the international accords signed by Romania.

All those provisions, which protect ethnic minorities and guarantee their equality and their rights, will be applied by us and unequivocally guaranteed and without reservation. Those provisions also have to ensure the development of the national identity of all citizens of Romania who belong to ethnic minorities. We must ensure their right to express themselves freely in their own modern tongue, the right to have schools in their modern tongue, the right to their own culture, traditions, and their own folklore, and the right to proportional representation, up to the highest level, in the legal bodies of the legislative and executive authority, and in general the right to practice, without obstruction, all the freedoms that all other citizens enjoy. The PNTCD will always respect and ensure these rights. The observance of all these rights is not at variance at all with the unity and integrity of our state. We have the common obligation to fight extremism, xenophobia, chauvinism, and intolerance, to make a contribution to the eradication of hatred and hostility, and to eliminate acts of instigation and provocation, which are devised through devious schemes and serve entirely deplorable ends.

We are against persecution and oppression, against injustice, against privilege, but also against any encroachment on rights and freedoms. We defend human dignity, social and political stability and we work for national reconciliation.

We have lived side by side for over 1,000 years in this common homeland. Our geography and history compel us to seek beneficial and harmonious cooperation, a human attitude based on the principles of Christian morality, and also civilized behavior, in accordance with the requirements of our times. We are duty bound

constantly to look for the most favorable premises to ensure our country's progress and prosperity, to establish true democracy and a free economy, and to achieve decentralization, thus establishing the state of law. The Romania of tomorrow must guarantee without reservations the freedom and equality of all citizens. Together we are responsible for the happiness of future generations.

I wish success to the proceedings of the Congress.

Official Discusses Goals With IMF Officials

AU2501153093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1417
GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 25/1/1993—Minister of State Misu Negritoiu, Chairman of the Council for Coordination, Strategy and Economic Reform, received on Monday, January 25, a delegation of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), led by Joshua Green. The talks

centered on the government's concerns for macroeconomic stabilization, institutional transformation, and economic restructuring, with stress on industrial restructuring.

The IMF delegation was informed of the economic policy targets of the cabinet this year—a halt to inflation and to the decline in production, the rise in hard currency resources, and the normalization of the evolution of the exchange rate. In that context the concepts and mechanisms were outlined to achieve the goals in industry, agriculture, power engineering, privatization, and institutional restructuring—the financial system, the banking system, the state property fund, and so on.

During the talks it was considered that under the current circumstances the exchange rate alone could not solve the envisaged targets without the intervention of public authorities in facilitating the processes pursued under the economic policy of the government.

Croat Commander Killed by Sniper in Gornji Vakuf*LD2501185793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 25 Jan 93**[Report by Slavko Rako from Mostar]*

[Excerpts] Following a three-day attack by the Serb aggressor, Mostar—the capital of the Croat community of Herceg-Bosna—is quiet today. Three soldiers of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] were wounded and one civilian was killed in clashes yesterday. Later, one soldier died from his wounds. [passage omitted]

According to this afternoon's reports by the press center of the Gornji Vakuf HVO, the town is quiet today. Muslim snipers, however, are not quiet. They killed one HVO soldier and wounded one civilian and one soldier. The commander of the Ante Starcevic HVO brigade from Gornji Vakuf, Major Jure Smit, was killed when he was shot in the back by a sniper. One mohamedin was found among Muslim fighters killed yesterday.

Muslims Blamed for Conflict*LD2501223393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Jan 93*

[Text] Speaking of the reasons behind the conflicts in Gornji Vakuf, Drago Banovic, head of security of the west Hercegovina operation zone information service of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO], told HINA today that Muslim extremist forces had been preparing the conflicts in Gornji Vakuf for over five months. He supported his claim by pointing out that formations of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army had built underground bunkers at important elevated locations. He also said that the Muslim forces had received reinforcements from other towns in Bosnia-Hercegovina. According to reports by this service, there are about 8,000 mohamedin in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Asked whether the conflicts could spread, Drago Banovic said that provided the principles of the Geneva conference are complied with and the other two sides accept the proposed map, and provided orders issued by Bozo Rajic, minister for defense of Bosnia-Hercegovina, are heeded, the conflicts will not spread.

As we have learned from the Gornji Vakuf HVO, this town has been relatively quiet throughout the day. The HVO forces have honored a cease-fire agreed to go into effect at 1800 yesterday. Snipers from some parts of the Bosnia-Hercegovina are still opening sporadic fire. This morning they wounded two more HVO members. The Gornji Vakuf HVO has also reported that there have been sightings of members of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army arriving from Bugojno as reinforcements, although yesterday's agreement between the HVO and the Bosnia-Hercegovina army stipulated that no fresh forces should concentrate in this area and that all the formations which are not resident in Gornji Vakuf should be withdrawn.

Croats Assail Activities of Muslim 'Extremists'*LD2501204893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Jan 93*

[Text] This morning Muslim forces shelled Croat-populated villages from several directions in the Busovaca area. The Croatian Defense Council [HVO] had repeatedly warned that the attacks had to stop. The Muslim forces, however, stepped up their attacks. Afterwards, HVO formations retaliated with resolution, the command of the HVO Central Bosnia operation zone has reported. The battles in this area are still raging. Snipers from the ranks of Muslim extremists present a particular problem since they are firing at all parts of Busovaca. At the moment a search is being conducted to locate the snipers' positions, we have learned from the command of the operation zone.

The command has been trying all day long to get in touch with the command of the 3d Corps of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army in Zenica in order to put an end to the clashes. To this effect it has been agreed that talks will be held in Kiseljak through UN Protection Force mediation. The command of the HVO Central Bosnia operation zone has again warned that the HVO has no motive whatsoever for initiating any kind of conflict with the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army and Muslims in the provinces which are singled out as being predominantly Croatian, as it advocates peace and a peaceful solution to all problems and open issues.

The HVO, however, reserves the right to defend the population and Croatian areas of residence from any attacker, the command of the HVO Central Bosnia operation zone stresses.

The command has issued a statement which relates to the activities of the Muslim extremists in central Bosnia directed against fighters of the HVO and civilians of Croatian nationality. As the statement stresses, dissatisfied with course of the Geneva talks, the Muslim extremists in central Bosnia and particularly in Kiseljak and Busovaca as well as in other parts of central Bosnia are preparing in an organized manner actions ranging from intimidation to plans to kill civilians and HVO soldiers.

In its statement the command calls on the population of the above-mentioned municipalities, regardless of their nationality, to remain calm, since the HVO has the means to defend them all. It stresses that it will successfully settle accounts with the extremists.

Travnik has by and large been quiet. There have been some movements of Muslim forces in and outside the town.

Muslims Reportedly Massacred in Eastern Bosnia*LD2501233593 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 25 Jan 93*

[Text] From its stronghold at (?Vida), the aggressor used tanks and recoilless guns to shell the Gradacac districts

of Unkici and Mionica. At the same time, howitzers from the strongholds in Misici and Gajevi shelled the town center and [word indistinct]. According to the Bosnia-Herzegovina Army, 25 flights by enemy helicopters were recorded this morning along the Modrica route [words indistinct] Pelagicevo. Fierce infantry battles are under way along the defense lines in [word indistinct]. The defense lines on the Gradacac front have remained firm and stable.

Yesterday, 24 January, an unprecedented massacre was committed in Muslim villages along the Drina river. Eighty civilians were killed and massacred, 20 were captured and abducted, and over 40 injured. Aggressor's artillery resumed its shelling today of the entire Srebrenica municipality. The population is suffering as a result of shelling, hunger, and contagious diseases, the war presidency of the Srebrenica municipality says in an appeal to the UN Security Council, the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, United Nations Protection Force and top bodies of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina calling for protection from the brutal conduct of the so-called Yugoslav Army.

FRY Army Says Muslim Attacks on Border Continue

LD2501183393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1754 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—Muslim armed formations in the Drina river valley continued their armed attacks on the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY), the Information Service of the Yugoslav Army General Staff revealed this evening.

Targets of these attacks were members of the Yugoslav Army stationed in border posts in Sjeverin, Strmac, and Raca. One military motor vehicle was hit by sniper bullets.

The General Staff Information Service says that Muslim armed formations are continuing occasionally to pound the Perućac hydroelectric power dam with artillery. Members of the Yugoslav Army destroyed enemy artillery nests and men with precision hits.

Mortar Attacks Continue in Sarajevo

LD2501151093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Three civilians were killed and many wounded today by chetnik shells in Dzemala Bijedica Street in the center of Sarajevo. Shells also fell on Vase Miskina Street, near the town market and in front of the Faculty of Economics.

Chetniks are attacking Hrid, Jarcedol, Vasin Han, and Gazin Han. One civilian was killed in Sedrenik and one was wounded in Gazin Han. Powerful Chetnik mortar attacks on the districts of Vojnicko Polje, Alipasino Polje, Svrakino Selo, and Mojmielo have not stopped.

The command of the Sarajevo Corps of the Bosnian Army today announced that the Chetniks have stepped up their attacks on defenders' units in the following areas: Semizovac, Olovo, and Olovo-Rudo. Official assessments say that by these attacks the Chetniks are trying to create conditions for a counteroffensive after the defenders' successes in northeastern and eastern Bosnia, especially around Srebrenica and Visegrad.

Serb Artillery Attacks on Gradacac Continue

LD2501181093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] In the Gradacac theater, Serb artillery attacks are continuing unabated this afternoon. Supported by artillery, the Serbian army tried to infiltrate a sizeable sabotage and surveillance group into the defense area of Divica Brdo. It was detected at an early stage and foiled. Gradacac's defense lines remain unchanged.

Serb Version of Rapes Reported

93BA0493A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Dec 92 p 12

[Article by Mirko Babic reprinted from BILTEN PRVE MAJEVICKE BRIGADE: "Serbs Are Not Rapists"]

[Text] The documentation on violence against Muslim women in Bosnia-Herzegovina recently raised the entire world to its feet and even reached the United Nations. Serbs are mostly the ones accused of rapes and crimes, which has elicited unanimous condemnation by the world community, but also numerous reactions by Bosnian Serbs. One of those reactions was an article by M.A. Mirko Babic of Ugljevik, which we are reprinting, in a somewhat abridged form, from BILTEN PRVE MAJEVICKE BRIGADE.

On the entire territory of Semberija and Majevica, I am aware of literally only one rape of a Muslim woman committed by a Serbian soldier, and it happened with several extenuating circumstances, in Brcko sometime around May 1992, when one of Blagojevic's chetniks (now dead) grabbed one pretty captured Muslim woman by the hand, telling her to come with him because he had not slept with a woman for a long time; she went along, saying that she had not slept with a man for a long time either.

But there have been many opportunities for Serbs to abuse Muslim women sexually. We thus had an entire convoy of about 2,000 Muslim women from Brezovo Polje whom the Muslims in Tuzla did not want to accept. Those women stayed for days on Banj hill near the Serbian positions, drying their intimate apparel, exposed to the view of Serbian fighters. No one raped them, however, and in the end they peacefully left for Muslim Teocak. There are many such cases, and it is not necessary to waste much space on them here.

On the other hand, in our area Muslims kept power in parts of Bijeljina for only two days at the beginning of the war, and they had already committed several rapes in the hospital, even against sick Serbian women who had been operated on; one of the rapists later also answered for this (a MAID-janitor). Tales about horrible sexual abuse of Serbian women have been known to us since the beginning of the war in Croatia. There have been numerous documented cases of captured young Serbian women in Croatia who were brutally sexually raped, up until they subsequently became pregnant, when they were released "to give birth to little Ustashe."

A considerable number of Serbian women have been taken into whorehouses abroad, and all that income has been used to buy weapons and drugs for the "Croatian state." Likewise, some of our women have ended up as white slaves in the Arab world. The case has been documented for all of us in which, at the beginning of 1992 in Sijekovac near Bosanski Brod, two Muslims committed an enormous crime by killing about 100 Serbs in one night. From their statements, recorded on television, we saw that in spite of all their haste on that night, they very brutally raped at least two young girls and their mother in front of the eyes of that unhappy householder, and afterwards they liquidated all of them with more torture.

We are also aware of shocking stories about the bestialities in the Dinara hotel in Livno, and about the whorehouses in Sarajevo, Tuzla, and other cities with a Catholic and Muslim clientele. Virtually all the Serbian women there suffered from the display of those monsters' animal urges. Their typical approach toward Serbian women was that as soon as they were arrested they told them that all the Serbs would disappear and that they would give birth to little Muslims and Catholics.

Consequently, those same forces which, during the last war, carried out the order that a third of the Serbs were to be killed, a third of them driven out, and a third of them converted to Catholicism, have now improved their demonic plans, and are decreeing death for half of the Serbs (the men), and for half of the Serbs (the women) rape, religious conversion, and the increase of their own "people."

When one thinks about it a little, we could hardly have expected anything better from descendants.

Many shocking statements by raped Serbian women are known to the public. Our enemies, however, want to suppress that and attribute everything to the Serbs. To our regret, they are succeeding in this.

The only thing left for us to do is to believe that there is Someone who sees all this and knows everything. His strength is greatest. The one who wars on His side is a follower of the Good which is certain, no matter how unlikely it seems to us today, to defeat Evil, as we are convinced—says the article by M.A. Mirko Babic, which was published by BILTEN PRVE MAJEVICKE BRIGADE.

Multinational Zenica Has Become Muslim

93BA0490A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Jan 93 p 15

[Article by Natka Buturovic: "How Multinational Zenica Became 'Muslim': When the Indivisible Is Divided"—first paragraph is BORBA introduction]

[Text] There is no more Zenica, as it is in memory. The war destroyed not just its buildings, schools, hospitals, streets, parks... It destroyed its soul, that which made Zenica special, and the people of Zenica special. They arrived here from all parts of the former Yugoslavia, from Triglav to Djevdjelija. They brought their culture, customs, they intermingled with local Muslims, Serbs, Croats.... They showed and they proved that they could live together. They were not allowed to.

Zenica was tacitly condemned in the war of being "Muslim." In the first months it stubbornly defeated every trial of imposed national divisions. It stoically endured the misfortunes that piled up. When the war cut the rails and roads—the foundry stopped. As if the heart stopped in everyone. All lived from the foundry. Zenica gritted its teeth and remained silent. It defended itself with silence. War, the kind that raged around it, was completely foreign to its being.

Zenica waited to see how the indivisible is divided. The Serbs came out of their native villages. Croats, also. The villages around Zenica were nationally mixed, for the most part, as were the high-rise apartment buildings in the city. Zenica considered itself the most Yugoslav of all Yugoslav cities, a forge of brotherhood and unity. Almost as if there were no single national families. But, the planners of national divisions had a formula for such cases.

An incident occurred in the village of Drivuso. Native Serbs arrived to turn over their weapons, and an "uncontrolled" group of Muslims attacked them. Blood was spilled. There were fatalities. The story spread that the perpetrators shot at the dead and that they carried them back and forth through the streets. The HVO [Croatian Defense Council] command protested very sharply, even angrily. There was supposed to be a guarantee that the surrender of the weapons would proceed in the best order. Blame was cast on the as yet unformed Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Fear grew. Trust was held by slender threads. Bands of plunderers increased the tension. They broke into apartments even when the residents were there. In the famous "steel high-rise," in just one night, they plundered 30 apartments. Moreover, they settled accounts among themselves on the streets with weapons. And the nighttime sentries fired at someone in the villages.

As far as is known, there were no battles, deaths, or losses. In truth, the Zenica jail (it is just 100 years old, it has served five nations and is serving a sixth) did not lose its reputation as the most difficult casemate; Serbs who arrive from there confirm this. However, the uncertainty

became general. But, there were no migrations by the people. Only somewhat more visible, women and children left the city "until this all passes." During the summer some even went on "annual leave" and returned home. They traveled via Kupres to Split.

The Croatian Defense Council "discovered" a route between central Bosnia and Dalmatia, because there were enough finished products in storage at the Zenica foundry.

There was enough food in Split. Bartering began. The foundry obtained the most necessary food products for its workers, and smugglers brought in even what they could do without. Prices at the market rose to unheard-of levels. The Croatian dinar and the German mark became the basic currencies. The majority of Zenica residents could only look at the food in the market. That is a worker's world that never had very much savings, certainly not in foreign exchange. When the Zenica steel disappeared, the food disappeared too, and one couldn't travel the route to Split anymore without numerous permits from various HVO branches.

The HVO actually held power in Zenica at one time. And this so tightly that the Muslims protested. This clamp loosened as the summer passed. Now it is seen that all these were pieces for an already drawn mosaic.

It was not possible to suspect that the HVO units would pull out of Jajce. Its members came to villages around Zenica, with the story that the Muslims were preparing to attack Serbia. They offered to help with "salvation" at 50 marks per head. They took them to Ilijas, a town about 20 km from Sarajevo. According to some eyewitness accounts, about 20,000 Serbs fit for the army arrived there. Many were immediately sent into the first battle ranks in the ring around Sarajevo. Dissatisfied with their welcome and treatment, some returned to Zenica.

They found their houses empty. They learned that those who had "helped them to save their necks" had come the same day and taken away their things without being observed. A convoy of women and children, which was supposed to go to Serbia, was stopped in Busovaci. They call it "Litte Rome." The condition for the unfortunate people to continue on their way was that eight Croats be released from the camp at Manjaca. The convoy waited until this was done. When Muslim refugees came from Jajce—they were sent to Zenica. Croats were directed to Travnik.

Zenica was horrified. It could not comprehend or accept the reasons why people left their houses and departed for the unknown. No one could even guarantee anyone survival anymore, especially not a "life like before," but hell had just arrived. The desperate people from Jajce brought it. Zenica lost its senses. The radical wing of the local SDA [Party of Democratic Action] got the last argument to act freely. However, the city core resisted this. The national blend of old neighborhoods was not

drastically disturbed. They help each other with the trouble that had found them and remain silent.

The government was now strictly SDA. Attempting to prove that Zenica was Muslim, they arranged very superfluous demonstrations. For example, sheets were spread out on the lawn during the summer in the city hospital between two clinics so that the faithful could pray there. With shawls around their necks, with which they clearly made it known that they were Arabs, uniformed soldiers strolled. Since they freely moved about in Busovac and Vitez, or the "zone of activity of the HVO," it was also clear that they had come that way.

After refugees from Jajce, Tesanj, Doboj, and Posavina were settled in Zenica, the city was closed from within. Only those who had an order for an official trip, and if their families were in the city, could travel. There were only occasional telephone connections with Sarajevo. They had been cut off from the rest of the world since the beginning of the war. Although the war commands in Bosnia-Herzegovina are controlling the media space more tightly than any other, news reports flow nevertheless.

Thus it was learned that the Patriotic Brigade had been formed in Zenica, composed of soldiers of all nationalities.

Bosnians and Herzegovinians who do not believe that it is possible to divide Bosnia-Herzegovina, and afterwards have a long peace, place great hopes in whispers of such a kind. These stir up their conviction that the fourth civilian army will appear, which will fight for real peace and a life without international conflicts. And they take the fact that Alija Izetbegovic did not succeed several times to make a reserve capital for Bosnia-Herzegovina out of Zenica as an argument that that this city, even in war, resembles peacetime Zenica.

The sky is clear over Zenica these days. The foundry has been bombed. Vital facilities have been hit—the blast furnaces, the cokery, the rolling mill, and the forge. The counters are empty in the market. Humanitarian aid is going out for the refugees. Here too, milk, meat, and fruit have become products that are only dreams. It is fortunate, it would be said—wonderful, that there is a coal mine in Zenica in the very center of the city; there is no problem with heating. But, there is very often no electricity, so no pumps are working either for water or for central heating. Therefore, drums have become a part of a house's furnishings. When there is war no one can be happy. Those who preserve their decency will be happy.

Intra-Serbian Financial Disputes Noted

93BA0496A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Dec 92 p 20

[Article by Milenko Maric: "A Chill Because of Financial Chaos"]

[Text] The authorities in Pale have recently received serious reproaches because of the financial chaos which has prevailed, but also because of repetition of the same sins toward the region committed by the former authorities in Sarajevo, which is why all the faucets through which money was going there were turned off back in April. All the conditions for the payment of personal incomes and pensions, moreover promptly, were created through the formation of regional funds. But there have been no wages and pensions, because no money at all has been coming back from Sokolac and Pale. Thus, 22,000 pensioners and almost as many persons employed in the social services have received nothing in more than two months. This was the occasion for the Banjaluka Opština parliament to send a protest to the authorities in Pale stating that unless obligations are met to employees in the social services and to pensioners, they will halt all financial flows in the direction of the capital.

There has also been a protest from the trade union of the Serbian Republic [RS] and from the university in Banjaluka. And finally, because the authorities of the RS have not shown understanding about moving the Settlement Agency to Banjaluka, where the National Bank is, Milenko Vracar, its governor, has made it known that unless this is done immediately, he will halt the placement of funds in accordance with the republic budget and also the cash subsidies to the branch offices of the SDK [Social Accounting Service].

Finances, then, are at the center of the new disputes about old topics. There is no doubt that this is a disagreement reminiscent of the one back in the time when Krajina and Banjaluka parted company with Sarajevo because of centralization of economic and political power in the former capital of the former B-H [Bosnia-Herzegovina], which, in their interpretation, was very expensive for Krajina and Banjaluka.

No one in Banjaluka today is a "warm" advocate of reviving the regional funds, but there is a demand for honoring what has been agreed on. Economic and financial experts say that monetary chaos has taken over in the Serbian Republic. The monetary system has collapsed and it will take at least two or three years to recover. If that is to be achieved, conditions have to be provided for the normal operation of both the government and also financial institutions. Those conditions do not obtain, it is believed in Banjaluka, in either Pale or Sokolac. When the fact that financial institutions are operating on the principle of an "orchestra out of tune" is added to this, it is not difficult to conclude that the reproaches from Banjaluka are justified. Criticism has been aimed at the failure to carry out the decision of the republic parliament that the Settlement Agency be moved to Banjaluka, which is the seat of the National Bank, as well as to move all other financial institutions.

It is illogical, that is, for the Finance Ministry to operate from Pale, where the Settlement Agency is located, for the summary figures and money for all funds to flow into Sokolac, for the data to be processed in Belgrade, and for the National Bank to be in Banjaluka. Because of the poor communications or none at all—because settlement of payments has been interrupted, the National Bank has no control over financial flows, nor could it have.

No one disputes the fact that this chaos was in fact one of the key causes for the fall of the government of Dr. Branko Djeric, professor. It is felt that no other government will make any progress unless the financial institutions are moved next to the National Bank, especially the Settlement Agency, so that data would be processed daily for the entire republic, and the SDK would be able on a daily basis to monitor compliance with laws in the domain of monetary policy.

The mill is built on the river, not away from it, said someone in a meeting of university teachers and public and cultural officials of Banjaluka which discussed these troubles. But this manifest truth always changes its meaning when Banjaluka is concerned. The calculations in Pale, just as those formally in Sarajevo, have left the only city in which the schools, science, and the university are operating in spite of the wartime environment away from the river—with no status or money. "Who is it that Banjaluka is bothering now?" the university teachers of Banjaluka asked.

Before his cabinet is installed, Dr. Vladimir Lukic, professor, who has the new mandate to make up a government of the RS, will have to "comb through" the "bundle of paper" with its unpleasant content from Krajina and Banjaluka in order to avoid a new split. After all, the arguments are on the side of the Krajina people, who by contrast with the dispute they had with Sarajevo, are no longer seeking political or economic decentralization, but creation of conditions for approximately normal functioning of institutions, the government, and ministries.

[Box, p 20]

They Are Not Coming

It is of interest that neither the general director of the Settlement Agency, nor any of his specialists, have accepted the invitation from Banjaluka to move there, although they have been offered dwellings and accommodations in separate apartments. In the regional SDK, they have already obtained all offices and personnel, they have communications with all the major opština seats in the Serbian Republic and also with Belgrade. There is none of that in either Pale or Sokolac. However, the problem seems to be that personnel at the republic level do not like Banjaluka.

**Status of Serb Region's Economy, Firms
Examined**

93BA0494A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Dec
92 p 12

[Article by Perica Vucinic: "Oxen for Canning"]

[Text] The war from which Banja Luka has been directly spared, has nevertheless had manifold effects on this Krajina capital, which also has ambitions of becoming the capital of the Bosnian Serbs. The effects of the war are the Banja Luka rows of trees with death notices posted, but likewise the decimated economy in collapse.

The Banja Luka economy is sharing electricity, or rather, darkness, with its population. The Bosnian Krajina as a whole receives 10 times less electricity than in past normal times. The flow of electricity has been cut off, first from the Tuzla reservoir, and then also from Jajce 1 and 2. Somewhat more than 20 megawatts of electricity is reaching the city below Seher from the Bocac hydro-electric plant. Ten times less electricity also automatically means 10 times less work from economic installations, and 10 times less employment, we learned from Dr. Predrag Radic, the head of the Banja Luka municipality.

The economy, which used to employ 60,000 people, now employs 6,000 of them. The rest—54,000—are on the front and on the "waiting list." From the once powerful Banja Luka industry, only the following installations are working today, only partially: those of Jelsingrad, TAS (Machine Tool Factory), Cajavec, Obuce, and the lumber industry.... The list could be called rather long, but everything has to be divided by the inevitable number, 10.

As much as this cardinal divisor, the Banja Luka economy and the entire Krajina economy are being shaken by the interruption of payment transactions with Serbia. "We do not have Yugoslav dinars," said the Banja Luka mayor. The lack of currency from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia makes it more difficult to buy food from Serbia and in general to do business with this republic, which, although blockaded, is the only link with the world for the Serbian Krajinas in Bosnia and Croatia. Without money, the pattern of trade is going back to the one from several centuries ago—barter. Livestock and lumber usually head toward the homeland by means of the corridor through northern Bosnia, which links the Krajinas with Serbia. Trucks with cooking oil, flour, and processed meat go in the opposite direction.... The Krajina, which was linked by co-production ties with the northwest parts of the former SFRY and conducted 70 percent of its trade with those parts, is now linking all its available capacities to the opposite end of the former state.

"It hurts me most when I see an unprocessed log heading toward Serbia," said Mr. Radic. (By the way, woodcutting is now higher than in 1945 and 1946.) This is because, contrary to the probable assumption of

"mother" Serbia, the Krajina economy is an economy with capabilities for a high degree of final production. Like the "raw" log, which bypasses "domestic" sawmills and factories capable of making high-quality parquet, construction carpentry, and comfortable and attractive furniture out of it, livestock is also leaving here. Recently 60,000 head of livestock were shipped to Sremska Mitrovica's Mitros from the farm in Nova Topola near Gradiska. There would not have been anything unusual about this if this farm's slaughterhouse were not one of the most modern ones on the territory of the former SFRY and one of the few ones in that same area that had an EC certificate that it met the Community's high standards. With the disappearance of electricity, however, this slaughterhouse no longer has ways to make final products out of the pigs that it has raised. The Krajina will get the meat, canned goods and other meat products back from Sremska Mitrovica. "For two and a half kilograms of live weight, we will get back one 150-gram can of meat," said Dr. Radic, who is also a professor at the Banja Luka Economics School.

The Bosnian Krajina's economy has turned its face toward the east, and only a corner of its eye toward the west as well, toward the Serbian Krajina in Croatia. These two economies, however, have virtually no cooperative elements. Cooperation only exists at the level of problems—the end of payment transactions with Serbia, the shortage of electricity, personnel taken out of production for defensive purposes.... Also, the weakened giants Gavrilovic and Tvik are not of interest to the more independent economy of the Bosnian Krajina.

In spite of the announced political unification of the Serbian Krajinas, on the economic level they are only united symbolically: for instance, Benkovac wines and grape brandies are filled at Banja Luka's Vitaminika. Let us recall a unified monetary system was also announced as part of the general Krajina unification. The dinar signed by the Knin governor, however, to put it mildly, is not desirable on the territory of the Bosnian Krajina. Any saleswoman or waitress will carefully check that you have not "slipped" her the RSK [Republic of Serbian Krajina] dinar, completely identical in design, instead of the "real one." As they say here, monetary unity will come, but when an agreement is reached on complete control over the issuance of money. For the time being, there is no control over either the issuance or the source of the "Knin" dinars. Money for money, they are not working now, and people in Banja Luka are wondering how the "Knin economy," which is almost not functioning at all, can even issue money.

The Yugoslav dinar is being accepted more often and more eagerly now, which was almost inconceivable last year. The official ratio is 1:1, but the foreign dinar's obvious advantage over the domestic one comes through on the foreign exchange black market, in which the mark is up to 50 percent more expensive than in the Belgrade one. Obviously the Serbian Republic's economy is also covering its economy "too much" by printing money.

So that economic exchange with the FRY can be stabilized to some extent, under fairer conditions for the former one, economic delegations from the "Near East" are coming more and more often to Banja Luka, even though it is not the official capital of the Bosnian Serbs, although it is in practice. Arrangements are being made with businessmen from Krusevac and Cukarica, but the largest, of course, was the 23-member delegation from Vojvodina. It is not surprising—the Bosnian Krajina alone has 30 percent of the arable land in Bosnia-Herzegovina. They are angry here at "those" authorities for not taking care of that potential, so that, for instance, in this fertile area there are no land-reclamation systems, but there are some "in that rocky ground of Popovo Polje in Herzegovina."

The collapse of Yugoslavia, and later the war, inflicted enormous problems on this part of the country. Once highly dependent on sales to the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army], Cajavec is now only partly supporting itself from the defense industry. It is making electronics for the Serbian republic's army. People here will not conceal their dissatisfaction (but they want a name) because the FRY army is moving the programs that the Banja Luka electronics producer once worked on to the factories of Serbia and Montenegro. Along with the production programs, the area is also being abandoned by "gray matter." The most prominent technicians, engineers, and experts... the former, faced with the increasingly stronger smell of gunpowder, have left Banja Luka. They left for Zadar, Rijeka, Zagreb, Belgrade.... Serbs also came to Banja Luka from those cities, but it was not an exchange of electronics technician for electronics technician, but rather of restless person for restless person. From the standpoint of qualifications, Banja Luka fared much worse in that exchange.

The war has brought many problems, for the economy as well. With the end of the war (it is not surprising!) many of them would also end, but no one knows when it will happen, or rather—almost no one.

Absence of Croats in Government Deplored

93BA0495A Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian
22 Dec 92 p 3

[Interview with Franjo Boras, member of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, by Ermin Krehic; place and date not given: "Closed to Croats?"]

[Text] Franjo Boras, candidate on the election slate of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union], is certainly one of the members of the Presidency of the war-torn Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina [B-H] who has received less media exposure. His contribution to the joint fight of the Croats and Muslims against the common enemy can be measured in the thousands of kilometers traveled from one point of crisis to the next all over B-H. He is one of those who has not been using the state of war for personal exposure. He is a consistent interpreter and

representative of the will of the ethnic Croatian community in B-H as expressed through the HDZ, but also of the views of the Presidency in important meetings and appearances. It is unusual for officials at his level to work without a chief of staff, without a secretary, without a typist, and he has entrusted the role of personal escort to his son! There might be many motives for an interview with Mr. Boras, but what led us to ask him for an interview is the request that Alija Izetbegovic's term as the head of the Presidency be extended for another year. This, that is, is one of the focal uncertainties in the political sky of the world's youngest state.

[Krehic] Referring to Amendment 51 of the Constitution of the Republic of B-H, Alija Izetbegovic says that his term of office as president of the Presidency is extended in the coming period because the bloody drama of war is continuing in the republic, and a state of war has been proclaimed.

[Boras] True, the state of war is continuing! However, whether intentionally or unintentionally, the text of Amendment 51, which has to do with extending the term of office of the members and president of the Presidency in case of war and a state of war—so long as that state continues, is being incorrectly interpreted. In a specific case, the term of all members of the Presidency does not expire on 20 December, but that is only the end of the second year of the full four-year term of the Presidency. So, the tenure of members of the Presidency continues and does not expire during the war.

[Krehic] Are there any other rules regulating election of the president of the Presidency?

[Boras] Yes, there are. Article 19 of the Presidency's Operating Procedure states: "The president of the Presidency is elected by the Presidency from among its own members for a term of one year, and an individual may succeed himself in that office once. The Presidency elects its president by a majority of the votes of its members." On 20 December of last year, Mr. Izetbegovic succeeded himself on the basis of that Operating Procedure. Because the term of the other members and of the president himself has not run out, and the situation is not that of extension during a state of war, for the present there is no legal basis for extending Mr. Izetbegovic's tenure to a third year.

[Krehic] President Izetbegovic, however, is also alluding to the agreement on division of the three most important state offices reached after the election. Under that agreement, it is asserted, the president of the Presidency is to be a Muslim, the prime minister a Croat, and the president of the Assembly a Serb.

[Boras] That is true! But the agreement was reached for only two years. It was in connection with that agreement that Mr. Izetbegovic's term of office was extended last year. However, it is not proper to refer to that agreement, because in the meantime one of the three parties has become an accomplice in the aggression against B-H.

That act itself makes it incumbent upon the two victorious parties to reach a new agreement on redistribution of the offices of state. Besides, even if it were true that the three victorious parties agreed that a Muslim would be president of the Presidency over the entire four-year term (and they did not), there still is another member of the Presidency of Muslim nationality—Fikret Abdic. Because the Operating Procedure states that no member may remain in the office of president of the Presidency for more than two years, in that case Mr. Abdic, as a Muslim, could head the Presidency in the coming term. I repeat, however, there is no such agreement!

[Krehic] Why does the SDA [Democratic Action Party] want to see Alija Izetbegovic heading the B-H Presidency for a third year?

[Boras] Aside from the principal functions of the Presidency—defense, internal security, and the legislative function delegated to him in wartime—particular attention should be paid to the fourth function of the Presidency—foreign representation. In the present situation, this is being done by two individuals: President Alija Izetbegovic and Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic. In contacts abroad, Izetbegovic figures as now the leader of the government delegation and now the leader of the state delegation. Minister Silajdzic has been known to perform all three functions, and both have sometimes headed delegations of the SDA. So, external representation has been entirely covered by individuals who belong to the Muslim nationality. Sometimes Ejup Ganic, member of the Presidency, is also involved in the handling of foreign affairs, so that the conclusion can be drawn that the foreign affairs of the Republic of B-H are closed to the Croatian people.

[Krehic] What in your opinion needs to be done to correct this imbalance in the handling of foreign affairs to the advantage of the Croatian people?

[Boras] The HDZ of B-H must not allow both the president of the Presidency and the foreign minister to come from the ranks of the Muslims; that is, one of them should be a member of the Croatian people. Likewise, we cannot allow ambassadors to both the United Nations and United States to come from one nationality. I think that in Christian countries representatives of B-H should come predominantly from the ranks of the Croatian people, and in Islamic countries—primarily from the ranks of the Muslim people.

[Krehic] But from the statements made to date by officials of the HDZ it seems that the opportunity has nevertheless been left open for Mr. Izetbegovic's term to be extended for another year, the third.

[Boras] You are right! The political and legal prerequisites exist for that. It is possible that Izetbegovic's term may be extended thanks to an amicable agreement with the HDZ, that is, with its president Mate Boban. Under it, Article 19 of the Operating Procedure would be amended, and there would be no allusion to nonexistent legal grounds or dubious agreements.

[Krehic] In some of your public statements, you have proposed moving the seat of the B-H Presidency so long as the state of war and blockade of Sarajevo continue. Why?

[Boras] Moving from Sarajevo, while the war is going on, to a place with which there could be communication by road and telephone would have a number of advantages. The effectiveness of the defense of the entire republic would be increased. For one thing, if the move were made out of Sarajevo, the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] would no longer monitor the affairs of the Presidency. The proceedings of the Presidency, but also of other bodies, are technically monitored by the UNPROFOR, and through technical monitoring it is also possible to gain an insight into the very nature of affairs.

[Krehic] More and more people believe that the war in B-H, after so many crimes and classic genocide committed against the Croats and Muslims, cannot end merely with negotiations, that is, by peaceful means.

[Boras] The war in B-H will most probably end with a combination of military and political measures. As for the political measures, talks are being conducted at various levels, beginning with representatives of the Croatian and Muslim peoples, all the way to various conferences on the former Yugoslavia or on B-H itself. However, in view of the crimes of Milosevic, Karadzic, and the rest, not to name them all, who in their misdeeds have waded deep into crime against humanity, we must expect that they will take it to the end. Everyone must be aware of that and prepared for it.

[Krehic] What is the influence of the Islamic countries on events in B-H?

[Boras] The influence is great, especially the influence of certain countries such as Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Turkey, Iran, and Pakistan. Those countries by and large take a friendly stance toward the United States, the sole superpower in the world which can considerably influence the development of events in B-H and in the Balkans generally. It is just that the Islamic countries need to be reproached for not having responded earlier to the appeals of representatives of the Muslim people, which by my own certain knowledge were sent. Usually during visits of Alija Izetbegovic to Saudi Arabia, Tehran, Turkey, Libya....

[Krehic] But recently the Serbs voted a "declaration" of cessation of the war.

[Boras] The Serbian aggressor always behaves that way just before some major event in the world where there will be discussion of B-H, or when it faces major trauma or losses in the war. The "declaration" is just another of their tricks!

[Krehic] As a lawyer and someone familiar with international relations, can you assess what possibility there really is for the ideologues of genocide and the initiators

of the bloody B-H drama to be brought to justice, or do you think that this is only a form of pressure on certain individuals?

[Boras] There are real grounds for the criminals Milosevic, Karadzic, Mladic, and others to be brought before an international court for crimes and genocide committed against the Muslims and Croats in this war. There should be no doubt that one day, which is on the horizon, all of them will be convicted by an international court and they will get what they have earned through their behavior.

[Box, p 3]

Muslims and Croats Together—How?

[Krehic] But charges frequently come from Sarajevo about the "statehood of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia [HZ HB]," that is, criticism of the HDZ for making a state within a state.

[Boras] Both Croats and Muslims can be grateful to the HDZ, which in the most difficult moments of the aggression against B-H gathered the strength and intelligence to quickly organize and oppose the aggressor. Wherever the units of the HVO [Croatian Defense Council] were well-organized, and that is almost the entire area encompassed by the HZ HB, the Chetnik foot was kept out. And I think it is already a bit pointless to have to repeat that the HZ HB was formed mostly because the legal

bodies of government of B-H were not functioning and that the HZ HB has a temporary administrative system for the duration of the war, that is, until a final agreement on the future arrangement of B-H.

[Krehic] It is said that one of the "keys to the war" in B-H is the formation of a joint command between the HVO and the B-H Army. However, the HVO has openly been expressing distrust of certain personnel in the army, of Chief of Staff Sefer Halilovic, for example.

[Boras] I am not personally involved on that military side. I can only say what has already been said of certain persons who hold key positions in the B-H Army. Certainly the most striking figure among them is Sefer Halilovic, chief of staff of the B-H Army. He is said to work for KOS [Counterintelligence Service] and to be a Trojan horse in defense of B-H; he is probably one of the key figures holding back formation of a joint command to fight the enemy of Serbian expansionism.

[Krehic] How do you see Muslims and Croats living together in the future, because there has been friction in that relation?

[Boras] The future life of these two peoples must be arranged, for example, so that what suits the Muslim also suits the Croat in Mostar. The reciprocal principle must, of course, also be applied. Only in that way, together, will we quickly build a better future.

Mandate Renewal Depends on UN Disarming Serbs

AU2601112893 Paris AFP in English 1112 GMT
26 Jan 93

[Text] Zagreb, Jan 26 (AFP)—Croatia said Tuesday [26 January] that it would not favor an extension of the U.N. presence in the republic unless United Nations peacekeepers regained arms seized by Serbian paramilitary forces.

"The return to the control of UNPROFOR (the U.N. Protection Force) of the heavy weapons currently in the hands of the Serbian paramilitary forces will be one of the main criteria" in Zagreb's review of UNPROFOR's mandate, which expires in February, the Croatian envoy to the United Nations, Mario Nobilo, wrote in a letter to the Security Council.

The letter was given to U.N. Security Council President Yoshio Hatano before the adoption of Resolution 802 condemning the Croatian attack against Serbian forces in southern Croatia under U.N. protection.

Nobilo noted that the Croatian military operation took place within internationally recognized Croatian borders, and thus could not be considered "Croatian aggression, as Belgrade suggests."

Justifying the Croatian action by "the inability of UNPROFOR" to honor its promises, Nobilo said the "limited action of the Croatian forces is over, their goal having been attained."

The fighting between Croats and Serbs took place in the self-declared Serb Republic of Krajina in southern Croatia. The offensive was aimed at winning back the area around the strategic Maslenica bridge, the only link between northern and southern Croatia, and the Croats also seized a key airport at Zemunik, near the port of Zadar.

Demarcation Line Proposed Near Zadar

LD2501233793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in
Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Croatian Navy Commander Admiral Sveto Letica has had talks in Zadar with General Robert Gaurdaeu, deputy commander of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR]. Admiral Letica put forward conditions to the enemy side for cessation of hostilities in the Zadar area.

Croatian representatives proposed a demarcation line in the Karin-Nadir area. The army of occupation west of the line is to leave its heavy weapons and hand its light weapons to UNPROFOR members. This was revealed by the Croatian Army's Zadar department for cooperation with UNPROFOR.

Skrabalo Cites 'Permission' of Cochairmen, Serbs

AU2501214693 Vienna ORF Television Network in
German 2100 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Report by Gerhard Seifried on interview with Croatian Foreign Minister Zdenko Skrabalo in Zagreb; date not given—recorded]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] The foreign minister has reaffirmed the limited character of the Croatian attack. The only objective was to secure the Maslenica bridge, which, in the minister's view, was absolutely justified.

[Begin Skrabalo recording] We had the tacit permission of the two chairmen, Lord Owen and Cyrus Vance, for our operation, as well as the tacit permission of [FRY President] Cosic, [Montenegrin President] Bulatovic, and [Serbian President] Milosevic. What I want to say is that we did not take action without discussing the matter at our penultimate meeting in Geneva. [end recording]

Croats Deny Responsibility for French Deaths

LD2501194993 Zagreb HTV Television in
Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] We have just received a report from Zadar about the killing of two French soldiers:

[Reporter] The command of the Zadar operative group resolutely rejects all insinuations regarding the killing and wounding of French UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] soldiers in Karin. Furthermore, it repeats that the command informed UNPROFOR officers an hour and half before the operation started, which no other army does, because announcing when an operation will start is the most sensitive part of the plan.

UNPROFOR officers thanked the Croatian Army command on this in writing, and thus the whole affair was the responsibility of UN soldiers and depended on their discipline.

We assumed that the chetniks would insist on incidents, which proved to be right on this occasion too, the command of the Zadar operative group says.

Bobetko Says Army Task 'Fully Carried Out'

LD2501155293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in
Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Report by correspondent Bozidar Klaric from Zadar]

[Text] We have fully carried out the task we were entrusted with. The Croatian flag is flying in the Maslenica strait. We have liberated the road linking the Maslenica bridge construction site with Zadar and the hinterland as well as the villages in the Zadar hinterland from where, over a year ago, about 20,000 Croatian citizens were expelled, said Corps General Janko Bobetko, chief of the General Staff of the Croatian Army, at a news conference in Zadar today. He went on to stress that the Maslenica action has shown that the

Croatian Army can and will liberate every inch of the occupied territory. He added:

[Begin recording] Zemunik is in our hands. The airport is in our hands. It is still dangerous since we do not know where all the minefields are, we do not know what steps have been taken [by the Serbs] to destroy the airport.

As I said before you came [addressing late comers], we shall ask the gentlemen from UNPROFOR who were in control of the airport to give us all available information to remove the mines and to restore the functions of the airport. [end recording]

The Maslenica action was successful and effective, thanks to the courage and determination of Croatian soldiers and the entire Croatian people, Gen. Bobetko said and went on to stress:

[Begin recording] I must express my gratitude to my soldiers and officers and especially to the 4th Split Brigade which was behind the main thrust of the action and which played an important role in raising morale during the action. They are all sons of this area, members of the Zadar homeguard, who carried out their task in an honorable way, and I think that this was a good experience and that from now on the Zadar regiment will more daringly and more determinedly defend that line and allotted tasks. [end recording]

The chief of the General Staff of the Croatian Army went on to say that unfortunately the action resulted in casualties. Eleven members of the Croatian Army were killed, two sustained serious injuries, and 30 had slight injuries. Seven civilians were injured in Zadar. It was not easy to carry out the allotted task since the Serb aggressor offered powerful resistance. This is borne out by the enemy's heavy losses who has eventually realized that greater-Serbian aspirations cannot be fulfilled on Croatian territories. The liberation of the occupied areas has created conditions for developing good transportation links between southern and northern Croatia but its importance is even greater in light of the fact that displaced persons will soon be able to return to the liberated villages, Gen. Bobetko said. He went on to warn:

[Begin recording] The Croatian Army will take responsibility for the mopping up operations, for removing minefields and everything else that can result in unnecessary casualties. As soon as this is accomplished we shall inform our Croatian public and you, in particular, and we shall then tell you: Ladies and gentlemen, will you please return to your villages. This will happen soon. They will be headed by the units of their own regiment, of local people and by other units so that we can guarantee the safety of this area and that normal life can return to it. That is our task. [end recording]

In conclusion, Corps Gen. Janko Bobetko warned that enemy provocations are still a possibility but stressed

that any attack on Zadar will be responded to ferociously by actions against Obrovac and Benkovac and, if needed, against Knin.

On behalf of the Zadar population Dr. Zivko Kolega, president of the Zadar municipal assembly, thanked Gen. Bobetko and the Croatian Army for the successfully executed tasks.

Refugees Flee Southern Krajina Conflict Area

LD2501170993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1612 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Excerpt] Knin, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—An increasing number of refugees is arriving from war-affected areas of southern Krajina. It is estimated that there are more than 5,000 refugees. About 3,500 are sheltered in Benkovac. The rest fled to villages in the Bukovica area and even in Knin.

Among the refugees are 700 children under 15 years of age. Small children need diapers, food, and clothes. The Krajina Red Cross and other humanitarian organizations from Knin are investing efforts to help all refugees. [passage omitted]

Krajina Defense Chief Asks Nambiar for Arms

LD2501224793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2134 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Knin, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—General Zabala, a UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR] general in Sector West, has forbidden Krajina forces to take out war equipment. Colonel Stojan Spanovic, defence minister of the Republic of Serb Krajina, has therefore sent a letter to UNPROFOR Commander General Satish Nambiar this evening.

General Zabala previously gave assurances that the entire western Slavonia would be safe, the letter states. Following his pledge, weapons belonging to the 1st Light Brigade were taken to depots. Now UN peacekeeping forces from the Canadian battalion have blocked the Okucani-Stara Gradiska road with 19 trucks in order to prevent Krajina forces from passing through.

Thus, our units are prevented from mobilizing weapons and taking up positions in the case of an attack.

General Spanovic concludes in his letter to Satish Nambiar: "You know too well how UNPROFOR forces have protected the people in Sector South. We have 500 dead civilians, women, children and elderly." Voicing fear that something similar could happen in Sector West, Spanovic asks Nambiar to take responsibility for the population of western Slavonia.

Two Russian UN Soldiers Beaten Up in Zadar

LD2501205193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1910 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Knin, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—Two Russian soldiers serving with the United Nations Protection Force [UNPROFOR] police force were beaten up in Zadar this afternoon. As learned from circles close to UNPROFOR, one of the beaten up Russian soldiers sustained serious injuries.

'Unprecedented' Artillery Reported in Krajina

AU2501210093 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Report by Radmila Kablar from Knin]

[Text] An Ustasha offensive has been continuing along the entire line of the southern part of the Krajina front for four days. An unprecedented artillery battle is being waged now in this region. From the occupied Islam Grcki, Islam Latinski, and Kasic, the Ustasha artillery has been pounding the Krajina fighters incessantly.

The fiercest battles today were waged in the village of Smiljcic, which the enemy infantry forces are trying to enter. The situation in the directions of Novigrad and Maslenica is the same. The Krajina fighters have been fighting strongly and resolutely against 30,000 fighters of the independent state of Croatia [refers to the World War II Nazi puppet state of that name]. Every step, every meter of Krajina land, is being defended. Every minute, new forces from all over the Republic of Serbian Krajina are arriving along the entire front.

Krajina Forces Stop Croatian Attack on Obrovac

LD2501204393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1906 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Knin, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—Krajina forces routed this afternoon an attack on Obrovac launched by Croatian forces. The aggressor sustained considerable losses in the process, we have learned from the military sources in Knin. On this occasion, two Croatian tanks were destroyed. Otherwise, there were no significant changes on the front in spite of fierce clashes. The Serb forces have consolidated their defense lines.

Skrabalo Visit to Germany Called 'Successful'

LD2401000893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2300 GMT 23 Jan 93

[Text] Croatian Foreign Minister Zdenko Skrabalo returned from his two-day visit to Germany. Minister

Skrabalo described his visit as very successful and as the beginning of the renewal of close relations between Croatia and Germany. On behalf of the Croatian Government and president, Minister Skrabalo invited German Chancellor Kohl and Minister Kinkel to visit Croatia. The high German officials accepted the invitation and announced a visit to take place soon.

Minister Skrabalo said that the statement by the German minister in connection with the action by Croatian police in the Zadar hinterland was wrongly conveyed to Croatian media. Germany does not condemn the action, but lends its support to a political and peaceful solution to difficulties. Germany will assist Croatia in the revival of its economy, Minister Skrabalo said.

UN Says It Has Proof of Massacre at Vukovar

AU2201152393 Paris AFP in English 1436 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Geneva, Jan 22 (AFP)—Proof of a massacre of Croats has been uncovered at Vukovar by forensic experts working for the United Nations, a U.N. spokesman said Friday [22 January].

Therese Gastaut, U.N. spokesman, said that the experts' report proved the existence of a mass grave containing about 200 executed bodies near Vukovar, close to the Croatia-Serbia border.

The Croatian town of Vukovar surrendered in the autumn of 1991 after a three-month siege by Serbian forces.

A hospital containing hundreds of patients, of which 420 were Croats, was evacuated following negotiations. But only the Croatian women and children were transferred to Croatia.

According to witnesses, 175 male Croatian patients were taken in coaches by the Yugoslav Army to Ovcara. They were tortured by the Serbian soldiers before being taken away in groups of 20 in a van. Each time the van returned empty, witnesses said.

A mass grave containing the skeletons of young adults had been discovered last autumn in a field near Ovcara.

The experts, who belong to the Boston-based group Physicians for Human Rights, have submitted their report to a U.N. commission of inquiry. The inquiry was set up to investigate serious infringements of the Geneva Convention and violations of international human rights.

Clinton Seen Facing 'Unpredictable Opponents'*AU2501174693 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 21 Jan 93 p 1*

[Mitja Mersol "Topic of the Day" commentary: "The Guy From Hope"]

[Text] Today, Bill Clinton took the oath as the 42d U.S. President, the first American President to have been born after World War II. At the same time, Clinton is also the first U.S. President who has not been "programmed" from cold war molds. His presidential function is not therefore any easier. On the contrary. His "cold war" predecessors were competing with predictable opponents and had at their disposal "elaborate mechanisms," arsenals, star wars, etc. Clinton, however, will have to deal with unpredictable opponents and conflicts and with a world which has careered wildly off the old tracks.

At 46 years of age, Clinton, a "guy who arrived from the little place called Hope," is—after Kennedy—the second youngest American president. To America, which discovers itself anew approximately every 30 years, he above all offers the following changes: a more united 260 million-strong nation which consists, apart from the white majority, of about 30 million Afro-Americans, 23 million Spanish-speakers, and 8 million immigrants from Asia; a better government "of the people for the people"; and more government backing for private enterprises, schools, students, and researchers. Clinton is above all going to be a "domestic" president, who will try to set on healthy foundations the economy, the health service, social welfare, environmental protection, the cities....

However, we are above all interested in Clinton as a "foreign policy" U.S. President. In our recent past, the United States has had an extremely influential role. Bush, Baker, and Eagleburger—with their thumbs alternately up and down—were "influences on us," judges and the court of appeal at the same time. Now that it has won a seat on the world organization, Slovenia must carry out the pragmatic and "business" policy of bilateral relations with Washington. Among other things, it must carefully look into the meager American-Slovene trade, which totals some \$100 million. And, last but not least, a year ago, Clinton told DELO that he supported the recognition of Slovenia. Now, if we may make so bold, we can put him to the test and ask how he plans to recognize it "in practice."

Balkans—Pawn in International Power Play*93BA0477A Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 9 Jan 93 p 23*

[Article by Teodor Gersak: "Firefighters and Instigators"]

[Text] After the elections in Serbia, the leading world politicians were covered by a real avalanche of rebukes and anger from their own voters, and at the same time

they were facing the danger of a spread of the war in the Balkans and the ultimatum from the Islamic Conference Organization. This is dictating to them that they must finally stop the conflicts and bloodshed. Although they are aware of this, they are still trying to stop the war without a major risk and losses, i.e., primarily by promoting political, economic, transportation and communications coercion, etc., and not by military force. Since the principal stage-managers of world policy have been forced this time at least to stop the bloodshed, and on the other hand some sort of permanent local crisis in the Balkans is actually necessary and useful to them because they can exploit it politically, they will probably decide to replace the current bloody option with a status quo crisis, since this would make it possible for them to draw out the political elimination of the crisis indefinitely like an accordion. If they could not achieve this through nonmilitary pressures alone, they would perhaps be prepared to intervene symbolically in Bosnian air space or even to attack some airport. They are not prepared, however, to squander either their own money or the lives of their soldiers for a real military intervention in Bosnia.

They could have stopped the war a long time ago if they had wanted to, but they did not do it, because big political games are hidden in the background. Along with its disapproval of Islamicism in Europe and its dealing with Orthodox expansionism, it is very successfully exploiting the war for other interests as well. We can therefore assume that some influential spheres of world politics, behind which important branches of world multinational capital are concealed, actually neither want peace to be restored in the Balkans soon, nor do they want the Balkan hangman Milosevic to be overthrown; instead, they are only formally trying to block him, while behind the scenes politically they are still trying to exploit his behavior to achieve their own aims. Their aim is by no means to crush Serbia as the one waging an imperialist war, but rather to restrict it to the extent that the war could not spread to other parts of the Balkans as well, because they know that it would encompass several Balkan countries and cause a regional crisis that would be hard to control. It is quite likely that some branches of world multinational capital are actually striving to start quarrels between European partners with different interests and thus disrupt European integration processes on the economic level and especially on the political level. They are thus indirectly affecting the competitiveness of the products of European firms and European capital, but the principal causes are still political and military, since they would like Europe to remain a political dwarf and without its own independent military structure as long as possible. Also quite realistic are the assumptions that some circles in high-level European politics are actually suited by several years of crisis in a strategically unimportant part of Europe like Bosnia-Herzegovina, since in the long term they could thus prove that it is urgently necessary to preserve a coordinated Atlantic security policy and reject a link between Europe's future military structure and the European

Union. Bosnia has also proven that the European Union, with its Western European political Union, is actually not capable of eliminating this crisis without assistance from NATO and American military potential. This is a major reason why European security policy and its future military structure will continue to be based on the Atlantic alliance and renounce its own military structure within the framework of the Western European Union. The latter is firmly opposed in Europe by international military-industrial capital. That is eloquently indicated by the imposition of a maritime blockade of Montenegro by ships from NATO and the WEU [Western European Union], and not by the U.S. Sixth Fleet or NATO alone.

After the fall of communism and the peaceful revolutions new states arose in Europe with unclear borders, some armies were disbanded, others were left without a state, and Europe, without enemies, gradually started to disarm itself, since it turned out that in the long term it was urgently necessary to carry out a reform of European security policy, and in the short term, to redefine the role, purpose, and structure of NATO in Europe. The present European architects are even thinking about complete independence of the European military structure, which is to be linked with Atlantic politics only as long as a nuclear danger exists.

It is precisely Bosnia that is convincing proof that Europe is extremely disunited with respect to forming its own security policy and a new military structure, and that is why for a long time to come it will have to subordinate itself to the joint NATO policy and it will be extremely dependent upon American military capabilities. That idea is most ardently advocated by the British, and also by the previous Italian government. One can also hear opinions that the Bosnian crisis is actually a European crisis, since the Europeans are aware that they cannot eliminate it by force themselves. If they consent to its being eliminated by American military forces with the symbolic participation of European military potential just as in the Gulf, that will be a defeat for the architects of future European military independence, even though they are also now advocating a joint Atlantic policy. In this sense Bosnia is much more important than the Gulf. In my opinion, Mitterrand is most aware of this. One should also know that the value of the capital turnover in the military-industrial sector during the period of ideological and political confrontations was \$500-600 billion a year, and with disarmament a period of recession began, military surpluses appeared all over the place, and the arms industry ended up in a serious crisis. The complete military independence of Europe would bring entire branches of the defense industry to their knees, especially on the American continent as the chief arms producer for NATO. We will undoubtedly be convinced that military-industrial capital has its own logic by numerous new crisis hotbeds.

Consequently, in my opinion, one should not delude oneself that peace will soon be established in the Balkans. Instead, it is possible to expect that the crisis, in different forms, will smolder for several decades and

periodically even spread. The Geneva negotiations can thus be characterized as just one of the steps toward concluding a geopolitical compromise between Milosevic's military successes and failures on the way to a final historical settlement of the Balkan question.

If the Muslim states are not persuaded of this and if the behind-the-scenes policy of the world rulers does not change, the crisis may turn into decades of fruitless negotiations and attempts to solve things on paper at numerous exclusive world resorts. The world's political stage-managers are certainly aware of this. Since they did not succeed in breaking up the unity of the Islamic states at the conference in Saudi Arabia, they immediately convened a new international conference in Geneva without Yugoslav interlocutors, in order to ameliorate the Islamic Conference's positions to some extent. In the future they will also try to break up the unity of the Muslim states and appease them by stopping the bloodshed and establishing international protection of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and that will make it possible for them to continue exploiting the Bosnian crisis politically. All sorts of things may also change with a change in the future American president's attitude toward Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In spite of the radicalization of Muslim demands for support for Bosnia-Herzegovina and even more cooperation between the new American administration and Europe in eliminating the Bosnian crisis, one may expect that they will abandon the international humanitarian assistance project for apparent political neutrality. One should by no means expect that they will decide on any sort of American military intervention with European reinforcements or under the UN flag. The last opportunity for such an operation was last May, when Mitterrand blocked it in the name of independent Europe, and now nothing much could be gained even with a surgical military intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina; instead they would only jeopardize the delivery of humanitarian assistance and food and the blue helmets themselves. An intervention can only be expected if the crisis started to spread and turn into a Balkan conflict and if that threatened two NATO countries, Greece and Turkey. Then American action through NATO would gain a completely different political framework. Military intervention in Bosnia-Herzegovina is only possible if world policy is forced to prove its determination, in order to appease the Muslim countries. We can therefore only expect attacks against the airports from which combat aircraft are flying into Bosnian air space if the Muslim demands are intensified. At the same time, it is not surprising that Dutch squadrons and even French Mirages are being prepared for such an operation, since they would certainly like to prevent a display of American power in Europe. If they used the American aircraft that are part of the naval forces and introduced some sort of permanent combat control over Bosnia-Herzegovina's air space, they could even intercept Serbian aircraft in the air. In spite of everything, however, that will not happen, because it involves the use of American capabilities that are not part of NATO. The architects of the

new Europe simply do not want this, because the role of American forces in the new European architecture would change. If they nevertheless use American combat aircraft, and not just radar ones, above Bosnia-Herzegovina it will be the fruit of Sunday's agreement between Mitterrand and Bush in Paris. Perhaps this is even the first indication of a compromise between the two concepts. One also should not rule out the unusual possibility that the secret services would agree to shoot down some Serbian airplane or attack a Serbian airport if that would be necessary in order to comply with a Muslim ultimatum. Such secret agreements are nothing new, although they are usually exploited in the media in such a way that they eventually benefit both sides.

Major changes in the field probably should not be expected before spring, even if some paper solution is reached in Geneva or there is at least an agreement on the starting points. When they start to deal with specific issues the negotiations will be dragged out, we will witness partial concessions, the demands in the field will change, and especially in the northeast parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina, there will be continued conflicts under the pretext that the Muslims are attacking now, and the Serbs, who are waiting for an agreement with the more powerful ones, are defending themselves.... It is actually a sort of beginning of the legalization of the status quo in the field, unless high-level world policy decides otherwise. In spite of everything, however, it is most likely that after the basic outlines of a political solution for the crisis in Bosnia-Herzegovina are formed, there will be an intensification of international peacekeeping intervention in the form of an expansion of UNPROFOR's activity in Bosnia-Herzegovina. After so many people have fallen, and in view of the enormous number of exiles and refugees and the terrible distrust between the opposing sides, gradual normalization is only possible with a half-military peacekeeping operation. With an expansion of UNPROFOR's activity, it would first of all gradually assume control over the borders between Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia and Croatia, and then start to establish special secure areas in which it would gradually settle the exiled, or according to the Croatian version, the humanely resettled population, but in any case it would also provide military protection for the convoys with humanitarian assistance and the corridors. It would probably need about 25,000 blue helmets for this, i.e., a full 10,000 new ones. In the event of an attack by any side they would respond with weapons, and thus justify the political neutrality of their operation. One must also plan for about six humanitarian corridors, and the number of secure areas would probably coincide with the number of Bosnian provinces or regions. In their own way they would thus be supporting the paper solution to the Bosnian crisis in Geneva. The secure areas and convoys with humanitarian assistance should be protected by armed ground units and armed helicopters, and if necessary combat aircraft as well. One of the principal aims of such a UN operation would also be to disarm the warring sides.

It is nevertheless impossible to overlook the fact that this would indirectly contribute to a second stage of ethnic cleansing. Specifically, people are no longer capable of living together. This operation would mean the indirect recognition of a new geopolitical reality achieved by war, no matter how much its authors try to deny this. We have already seen how things went with disarmament in the Croatian case. It follows from all of this that in the occupied territories Muslim enclaves or reservations will arise in which people will have to live for many years, and that once again leads to extremes.

The current crisis will also come in handy for a long-term settlement of the Balkan problem in general. Bosnia-Herzegovina is only one of the stages along that path. Specifically, there are also Serbia and Macedonia, and resolution of the Albanian question. One can already roughly perceive the new outlines in the Balkans, however. The world is not stupid at all, and it will not pay the price demanded by a war in the Balkans; consequently, side by side with the Geneva drawing-room negotiations, it will put pressure in the field on those currently responsible for the Yugoslav crisis to stop interfering in Bosnia, and on the other hand, it will try to force them into establishing some sort of new Yugoslav association. Through the already introduced, expanded, and tighter blockade, it will exhaust the self-styled third Yugoslavia with the intention of having it withdraw in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and at the same time prevent the further ethnic cleansing of Kosovo, Sandzak, and Vojvodina. It will gradually push Serbia and Montenegro—since the Serbian "smuggling commerce" only functions internally, and not externally—into their economic collapse and social disintegration. If the Milosevic-Seselj coalition does not renounce its self-destructive policy, and if it possibly even decides on a military-police dictatorship, it may be overtaken by a settling of scores with its own people on the streets of Belgrade, and the scores may even be settled with its policy in a general conflict between the Serbian city and countryside. If Serbia, under international pressure, did actually renounce the Bosnian Serbs, then the world would possibly even meet its demand for the establishment of some sort of new form of Yugoslav association, and thus prove that that policy paid off.

On the other hand, it will tighten the pressure on Croatia, against which sanctions cannot be imposed because it is obviously the victim of aggression, indirectly and behind the scenes. A sort of economic and social destabilization started even before the maritime blockade in the Adriatic, with the deliberate postponement of an international solution to the refugee crisis and a solution to the problem of the occupied areas, and also with the deliberate partial physical isolation, in which the leading world media are systematically portraying it in a bad light, something that is particularly true of its president. The Vance plan, in fact, was conceived in such a way that it puts Croatia in the worst geostrategic position in Europe, and it is deliberately being implemented only to the extent that they can show

the international community that there is peace there now, and at the same time, they can successfully bargain politically by means of the Krajinas and the unfortunate refugees who would like to return home. Croatia is essentially under severe pressure, which is not only threatening it with economic and social collapse, but also political collapse, unless it curbs Boban and the radical Hercegovina wing of the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Community]. If it experiences that, then a Yugoslav customs and trade union is the least that may befall it.

We can best illustrate how hypocritical the international community is with respect to Yugoslavia by means of the maritime blockade against Montenegro. although it is well aware that so far the violation of the sanctions by sea has been merely symbolic, and that Bar is the only Montenegrin port, which is far from having suitable capacity, it nevertheless decided to blockade the Montenegrin coast. From 12 to 18 NATO and WEU ships are taking turns in front of it the whole time. Why so many to blockade the 96 kilometers of the coast, since there is one ship for every few kilometers, when that whole area could be controlled with two destroyers or frigates and a helicopter? All of this, along with the media promotion, can be understood only in terms of the fact that the maritime blockade of Montenegro is merely symbolic and actually aimed against the victims of the aggression, Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina, so that they will not be able to obtain weapons.

Although sanctions have not been imposed against Croatia, it is essentially more of a victim than Serbia, precisely because of the indirect oversight of transportation links with its ports and the deliberate dragging out and also political exploitation of the refugee problem. That this is true is proven by the deliberate closing of many European borders; the British parliament even debated accepting six refugees from Korensko Sedlo; there has been no substantial financial assistance, but there have been many promises. Furthermore, the Vance plan was deliberately conceived a long time ago so that it could be used to put Croatia in the worst position of all European countries. If it finds itself in any sort of crisis, it can be broken into three parts even on the first day: In the area of Duga Resa the Pannonian part can be cut off from the Coast, and in the Zadar hinterland Dalmatia can also be cut off from the Coast. It is precisely through that area that the most important railroad, highway, postal, and electrical links run.

On the other hand, high-level world policy and the Security Council by no means want to take radical measures against the Serbs. They are not even prepared to cut off the main smuggling routes to it. They have deliberately left all surface and Danube traffic out of international control, even though we have already heard many times that it should be imposed. The world, however, is only being hypocritical with respect to the Balkan crisis; it is deliberately dragging it out because of its own interests and creating a new geopolitical and geostrategic balance, in which Serbia is assuming the new role of a geostrategic nucleus in the Balkans. All of

the "infinite labor" that is being devoted to solving the Balkan problem is only empty chatter, if in the end it will recognize a new geopolitical reality, achieved by war. And certainly then some means will be found to put that reality in such a form that it will be internationally acceptable.

Slovenia escaped the Balkan cauldron in time. With its buffer-zone geographic situation and its stable, moderate, and wise policy it now meets all the conditions so that the Balkan community will never be able to capture it again.

Intelligence Service Reorganization Planned

93BA0477D Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 9 Jan 93 p 2

[Article by Vinko Vasle: "Foreign Intelligence Services and the Mafia Are Already Infiltrating Slovenia"]

[Text] *The latest version of the reorganization will completely cripple the VIS [Security-Information Service]; the interior minister without power, and the director of the administration only an executor; the VIS as a service for building the power of the government and the president? "Brioni plenum."*

Ljubljana, 8 Jan—Is the so-called wiretapping scandal, which was one of the biggest pre-election political games and intrigues, passing into its final phase, and who will be its victims? Yesterday's decision by the State Assembly's working group (it is composed of the chairmen of the parliamentary groups) to separate the VIS and the Ministry of Internal Affairs could also mean that.

Of course, it is not controversial that the VIS is coming under the authority of the government, since the initiatives for this form of reorganization have already been around for a long time, and Minister of Internal Affairs Igor Bavcar also agreed with them. VIS Director Dr. Miha Brejc says that what is controversial is the decision that is contained in the second paragraph of Article 39 of the Law on the Government, which says that "the rights, duties, and powers of the minister of internal affairs specified in the Law on Internal Affairs that apply to the work of the Security-Information Service are exercised by a special commission that is appointed by the government from among its members." On this basis, the government is supposed to appoint to the commission from three to five ministers, who would take over several tasks and powers of the minister of internal affairs. The minister's former powers are contained in 12 points. Among other things—if we limit ourselves to just the most important ones—the minister has given justified proposals to a court for deviating from the principle of the inviolable secrecy of letters and other means of communication; the minister has given permission for the use of special working methods and means (secret collaboration, secret surveillance, antibugging inspections, technical protection of facilities, etc.). Now, all of this is to be decided by three or five ministers.

"It is a completely ill-considered and amateurish step, and if the deputies adopt that provision in the Law on the Government, they will participate in the complete dismantling of the VIS, which will turn into some sort of public enterprise, a bureaucratic institution, completely without operational strength," stated Dr. Miha Brejc. He emphasized that the decision that the VIS should come under the direct authority of the government was not problematic by any means.

"It is even good, since the power of the minister of internal affairs is thus limited and reduced, but it is also true that this increases the power of the prime minister, since he obviously has the biggest responsibility."

We have already known a similar "doctrine" in Slovenia for a long time, since the opinion has been heard that it is not good to have the minister of internal affairs command not only the police but also the VIS, since it is a big concentration of power in the hands of one man. This is also the reason for the proposal that the VIS be separated from the Ministry of Internal Affairs and come under the direct authority of the government. That system is also known abroad, and it is consequently nothing new.

The new, and in Brejc's opinion important thing, is that the number of people who will administer that service is inadvisably broad, which of course does not ensure the discretion and secrecy of its operation. Furthermore, in many cases this could completely cripple the VIS's work, and the state would encounter unpleasant consequences or even something worse that would fundamentally threaten its security. The special commission (three or five ministers) would furthermore have to be available to the VIS night and day, and it will be very difficult to ensure this.

The state, of course, needs a high-quality security and intelligence service, since Slovenia is undoubtedly vulnerable not only to different foreign intelligence services, but also to Mafia and criminal gangs. According to quite reliable data, the Italian Mafia is already infiltrating our territory, and other organized criminal gangs are also trying to infiltrate Slovene territory through our economic system. It is also necessary to take into account the lively activity of the military circles of several neighboring states, especially those of the former Yugoslav republics, and in this regard one should also not forget the ideas (or attempts) by individual circles regarding the restoration of Yugoslavia. All of this, of course, presents the Slovene security and intelligence service with extremely difficult and important tasks, which also require an organization appropriate for this. In this regard it is not unimportant to ask what kind of powers this service actually has, and what kind it should have. Some time ago Dr. Janez Pecar from the Ljubljana Law School's Criminology Institute said in regard to the polemics about amendments to the Law on Internal Affairs at that time that on the basis of all the restrictions placed on it by law the VIS was a "dog without teeth,"

and Dr. Miha Brejc added that under the new system the VIS "allegorically speaking, would not even be a dog anymore."

In this regard it is interesting that the first version of the (new) Law on the Government, in Article 34 (16 December 1992), contained, among other things, a provision that the "rights, duties, and powers of the minister of internal affairs in the Law on Internal Affairs that apply to the work of the VIS are exercised by the administrator," and oversight over the exercise of these rights and duties was to be conducted by a special commission appointed by the government from among its members. The Ministry of Internal Affairs and the VIS administration were thus acquainted with that provision, which is no longer in the working text of the law (29 December 1992). Article 39 of the law only says that the former powers that the minister of internal affairs had in connection with the VIS are to be assumed by a special government commission. In simple terms this means that neither the minister of internal affairs nor the director of the VIS administration has any powers in all of this—the former has nothing, and the latter is only some sort of executor. This, of course, is an argument in favor of Brejc's assertions that such a VIS will be completely crippled operationally.

According to our information, Dr. Janez Drnovsek knew about the criticisms coming from the Ministry and the VIS, but yesterday the parliamentary parties' working group acted otherwise—only the representatives of the Democrats and the Social Democrats were opposed. This not only raises the question of whether it is possible to decide on expert matters that way (without arguments from the opposing side, and without considering them), but also of what lies behind that decision! Minister of Internal Affairs Igor Bavcar and VIS Director Dr. Miha Brejc, specifically, have already been the center of attention for several months because of the so-called wiretapping scandal, which seriously discredited the Slovene state abroad.

Regardless of everything that happened in connection with this, it is also impossible to overlook the political-party background of the entire scandal and even some sort of "party intelligence activities," especially from those parties that raised the most fuss in connection with the wiretapping of foreign diplomatic representations during last year's war. All of this, of course, was exploited by individual parties during the pre-election struggle, when it was necessary to discredit several opponents and expel them from the game. The wiretapping scandal, in fact, grew into an attempt to spread a real collective paranoia that was to have told citizens that no one was safe from this and that basic human rights were being seriously violated. There were even speculations about possible political backgrounds behind such activities.

It seems that Bavcar will no longer be minister of internal affairs in the new government, and Drnovsek is also supposed to have another person in mind who is to

succeed Miha Brejc as VIS director. If our information that it is supposed to be Nikola Proksl is true, then we are also justified in wondering whether such a personnel choice does not mean that the VIS will be more intended for strengthening the prime minister and the government than for acting as a modern intelligence service. Will we thus gain an effective state security system, or a service that will be a sort of long arm of the government?

The new unofficial candidate for VIS director, Nikola Proksl, worked for a long time for the Slovene Internal Affairs Secretariat, and later Ivan Erzen (in 1990 he became deputy federal secretary of internal affairs, and previously he was in the leadership of the Slovene State Security Service) sent him to Belgrade, where he headed the service that took care of the personal security of President of the Federal Presidency Janez Drnovsek. Among other things, he was also the head of analysis and documentation in the federal UDBA [State Security Administration], and after the changes in Slovenia he did not receive employment in the Interior Ministry. Today he has a private firm, which, among other things, is also involved in some sort of "detective business."

Will we Slovenes also get our own "Brioni plenum"?

Struggle for Radio Station Licenses Viewed

93BA0477B Ljubljana DNEVNIK in Slovene 7 Jan 93 p 4

[Article by Marjan Lacic: "Unappeased Hunger for Frequencies"]

[Text] *The expert commission has only approved a few "uncontroversial" radio stations; the struggle for frequencies is one of the most subtle ways of fighting for power.*

Ljubljana, 7 Jan—If you suddenly offer too much food to a very hungry person, it is not good, and likewise, in the opinion of officials in the Slovene state administration, "in view of everything, it is also not good to offer too much suddenly to those who are acutely hungry for frequencies for broadcasting radio and television programs." The Administration for Telecommunications at the Ministry of Transportation and Communications, and its expert commission which participates in allocating frequencies, in fact, yesterday gave the green light for only a few of the total of almost 30 applications for starting to operate new radio stations. For the time being, it has not yet adopted any final decision regarding the approximately 15 applicants that would like to broadcast television programs in Slovenia.

"Frequencies are a public good that the state is only trying to distribute properly," said Joze Vugrimec, director of the Republic Administration for Telecommunications. "In this job we have too few powers and standards for allocation, since we are regulating a rather new area that until last October was still formerly under federal jurisdiction." For the most part, this area is now governed only by a few obsolete laws and a resolution by the Slovene Government, which last November annulled the Slovene RTV [Radio-Television] Council's resolution on distribution and eliminated the moratorium on allocating frequencies.

Why is the problem of frequencies for broadcasting radio programs so very important, which is particularly true for Slovenia at this time? Frequencies, in fact, are a limited natural resource that anyone, especially our neighbors, would like to appropriate if we do not allocate them quickly enough. At the same time, frequencies represent the foundation and necessary condition for establishing new radio or television stations, which, of course, can become an important factor in the struggle for dominance in the Slovene political or economic sphere. Whoever owns or at least controls the media thus also has an opportunity to increase his political or economic power, and consequently the struggle for frequencies at this moment in a Slovenia divided by politics, parties, and interests represents one of the most subtle means of fighting for power.

Joze Vugrinec emphasized that the Administration for Telecommunications would not like to be a self-appointed arbitrator in allocating frequencies, even though it is only a temporary system that is only supposed to be in effect until appropriate legislation is passed. The commission that participates in allocating frequencies is composed of several members of the Slovene RTV council and representatives of the School for the Social Sciences, who, according to Joze Vugrinec, are not bound by the milieu from which they come. Yesterday that commission approved the start of operation and an appropriate frequency only for those radio stations where things were not controversial in any way and where the applications met all technical and program standards. For applications for the allocation of frequencies for future television stations, the opinion of the area where the new TV station is to operate is also one of the decisive elements, along with those already listed. A possible Slovene-wide nonnational television network—according to all the opinions, it is to be Channel A, which has asked for frequencies at all the key transmitters in Slovenia—is obviously still secondary for the time being. In this regard Joze Vugrinec rejected the criticism that the Administration, by deliberately blocking Channel A, was strengthening the present monopolistic position of Slovene TV, since in his opinion it would be necessary to break up monopolies in a different way.

A fundamental characteristic of the radio broadcasting field in Slovenia—it is also necessary to add to this the extremely large number of cable distribution systems—is undoubtedly the big legal vacuum, which is partly understandable, since this rapidly developing field was always under federal jurisdiction. Even in the most developed countries, in radio broadcasting the legal system is lagging behind the development of technology. Of course, all of this, in spite of everything, does not justify the government and parliament in not preparing and passing the appropriate legislation as soon as possible in consultation with the expert and interested public. It is only in that way that we could also calmly await the establishing of any new television station without unpleasant speculations and insinuations, even though Slovenia, with only 2 million inhabitants, will never be a television paradise, as neighboring Italy has been and still is.

Federal**Army Prepares for Further Croatian Attacks***LD2501221893 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2154 GMT 25 Jan 93*

[Text] Novi Sad, Jan 25 (TANJUG)—Lieutenant General Andrija Biorcevic, the commander of the Novi Sad Corps of the Yugoslav Army, said on Monday [25 January] all necessary preparations had been completed for an intervention by the corps in the event of an attack by the breakaway Yugoslav Republic of Croatia on the Serb region of Slavonia, Baranja and Western Srem.

The region, which lies alongside the border of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, is part of the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK), which the Serbs proclaimed in 1991 in areas inside the administrative borders of Croatia where they are the majority population in protest over Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia and the degradation of their status in its new constitution from a nation to a national minority.

Croatia on Friday launched an aggression on the southern part of the RSK, which is under U.N. protection.

In a statement to Novi Sad Radio, Biorcevic threatened Croatia with a strike from which it would find very difficult to recover.

He said the Novi Sad Corps would use "all available means" to help U.N. peacekeepers and RSK defence forces protect the local population.

Ministry Issues Statement on Security Situation*LD2501203593 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1804 GMT 25 Jan 93*

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—At its session today, the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia discussed the security situation following Croatia's aggression against the territory of the Republic of Serbian Krajina and the offensive Muslim forces had launched against Serbian positions in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The Federal Government states, it is said in a statement by the Federal Information Ministry, that the state of security has deteriorated significantly in the wake of this, something that was compounded by the inadequate activities of the UN Protection Force [UNPROFOR], who under the Vance plan protect the territory of the Republic of Serbian Krajina.

The Federal Government also stated that the confrontations escalated at the moment when initial but significant results had been achieved in peacefully resolving the crisis on Bosnia-Herzegovina's soil. This, in the Federal Government's view, is a deliberate act of undermining the Vance plan—guaranteed by the UN and EC and consigned by the Republic of Croatia—as well as a direct

threat to the peace process within the framework of the Geneva conference on the former Yugoslavia. At the same time, aggression against an area under the direct protection of UN peace forces amounts to the undermining of UN authority, something that raises a serious challenge to the world community.

All this convincingly testifies as to who the aggressor is and who the victim is in this area, who does not favor a political solution to the crisis, that is, who instigates armed conflicts on the soil of the former SFRY.

Croatia's aggression has already caused a large number of casualties and material destruction—on the Serbian side over 500 civilians and about 150 militiamen have already been killed while hundreds have been injured, which clearly testifies to its extent, scope, and consequences.

The aggression, under UN protection, as well as armed activities by the Muslims in Bosnia-Herzegovina are threatening to trigger not only armed conflicts in the zones under UN protection but conflicts of unmanageable proportions in the entire area of the former SFRY and Balkans.

Proceeding from the assessment that any escalation of clashes could have tragic and long-term consequences, and that the United Nations, that is, UNPROFOR, has the duty to fulfil its obligations in areas under its protection, the Federal Government fervently demands that the Security Council convene an emergency session without delay, to condemn the aggression, to send a demand for an unconditional withdrawal of the Croatian Army to its starting positions, and to undertake resolute measures under Chapter VII of the UN Charter.

The Federal Government expects that the Security Council will take energetic measures aimed at unconditionally halting the aggression, so that the process of peaceful resolution of the Yugoslav crisis is preserved. The United Nations, the Security Council, and the UN secretary general have undertaken historic responsibility to implement the Vance plan consistently, to protect the population on the territory of the Republic of Serb Krajina, and to ensure the resumption of the peace process aimed at resolving the Yugoslav crisis.

Deeply concerned about a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis on the territory of the former SFRY, the FRY Government expresses readiness to contribute to the implementation of the Vance plan through direct cooperation with the Security Council with the aim of halting the aggression. To this end, the Federal Government is ready to place itself at UNPROFOR disposal, that is, to act in line with UN orders.

The Federal Government stresses on this occasion too that the FRY will continue to carry out obligations from the Vance plan and to champion a political and peaceful resolution of the Yugoslav crisis.

With a view to the security situation, the government has, within the framework of its authority, adopted other conclusions and decisions regarding its further activity.

Having judged that many preconditions have been met, the FRY Government has decided to request from the UN Security Council to set in motion a procedure for lifting sanctions. The government will inform the Security Council president about this request in writing, concludes the statement of the Federal Information Ministry.

Parties Want Security Council To Condemn Croats

LD2501193593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1901 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, January 25 (TANJUG)—Most parliamentary parties in the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia and Montenegro on Monday [25 January] expressed solidarity with the Serbs in the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK) and called on the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) to immediately condemn the Croatian aggression on the RSK and demand urgent withdrawal of the aggressor's troops.

Vuk Draskovic, president of the Serbian Renewal Movement (SPO) which is a part of an opposition coalition DEPOS [Democratic Movement of Serbia], said that the Security Council and the European Community were obliged to urgently condemn the "criminal aggression of the Croatian Army on the territory under U.N. protection."

Draskovic said he believed that it would make possible that the "drama in the territories of former Yugoslavia be settled through negotiations."

He also said that it was the obligation of the Yugoslav Army to protect the RSK and punish the Croatian aggressor if the U.N. and the E.C. fail to do so.

The Democratic Party of Serbia (DSS), another party within the Depos coalition, said that the Croatian aggression marked a gross violation of the peace plan by special envoy of the U.N. secretary-general and former U.S. Secretary of State Cyrus Vance.

As the plan had been adopted on the basis of a U.N. Security Council decision, the Croatian government has clearly challenged both the Security Council and the entire international community, the DSS said in a statement.

The party called on the Security Council to urgently make possible for the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to join an action for the protection of the Serbian people in the RSK under the auspices of the United Nations.

Dragoljub Micunovic, president of the Democratic Party (DS), described Croatia's offensive on the RSK territory as an adventurous move made at the most critical

moment of the Geneva peace talks and said that it jeopardized all hitherto efforts towards peace in those territories.

"The Security Council has two options now: either to immediately order the aggressor to return to the earlier demarcation lines, set by Vance's plan, or to take upon itself the responsibility for an escalation of war throughout the territory of former Yugoslavia and probably throughout the Balkans," said Micunovic.

The people's [words indistinct] of war throughout the territory of former Yugoslavia and probably throughout the Balkans," said Micunovic.

The People's Radical Party (NRS) said that it would call for a most energetic intervention of all branches of the Yugoslav Army if the Croatian troops do not withdraw from the territory of the RSK and publicly apologize for the killing of Serbs in the RSK.

The RSK has been proclaimed in regions within the administrative boundaries of Croatia in which Serbs make up the majority population in response to Croatia's secession from the former Yugoslav Federation.

The Socialist Party of Montenegro (SPCG) said that by attacking the RSK the Croatian leadership had gone back on its frequent declarative statements calling for a peaceful settlement of the conflicts in the territory of former Yugoslavia.

The Croatian offensive is yet another in a series of moves which reveal the duplicity of the warring sides and block efforts to save the lives of innocent people from the protagonists of the senseless fratricidal war, said the SPCG.

The Serbian People's Renewal (SNO) for Montenegro and Hercegovina said in a statement that the Croatian aggression on the weakened and disarmed RSK had clearly shown that Vance's plan was in fact a plan for weakening the Serbs and building the strength of the Croats. The party demanded from the Yugoslav authorities to take all measures to protect the endangered Serbian people.

Defense Council Discusses Croat, Muslim Attacks

LD2501140493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1312 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—A Supreme Defense Council session was held in Belgrade today with Dobrica Cosic, FRY president, in the chair. The session was attended by the council members: Slobodan Milosevic, president of the republic of Serbia; Momir Bulatovic, president of the republic of Montenegro; Deputy Prime Minister Dr. Radoje Kontic; and Lieutenant General Zivota Panic, chief of general staff of the Army of Yugoslavia.

According to a statement issued after the session, the council discussed developments on the territory of former Yugoslavia in light of the latest aggression against the republic of Serb Krajina and a Muslim offensive in the Drina River valley, which directly threatens the security of FRY territory. The council also considered the wider military implications of the latest developments for the Balkan region and the FRY.

The council noted that the latest aggressive action by Croatian and Muslim armies has further aggravated the region's security situation, threatening the peace negotiations in Geneva as well as a UN peace operation, which, since the outset of the Yugoslav crisis, has enjoyed the FRY's support and contributions.

It was said that implementation of the UN plan is of vital importance for regional stability. In response to the newly created situation, which undoubtedly threatens the FRY's security, the Supreme Defense Council ordered that the level of combat readiness for relevant sectors of the Army of Yugoslavia be raised and instructed the Federal Government to take all necessary measures within its constitutional powers and authority in both the external and domestic sphere.

The council is of the view that despite the latest events, negotiations within the Geneva conference should continue in light of the indispensable role of the United Nations in efforts to find a lasting and stable peace in the region, the statement issued after the Supreme Defense Council session says.

Trade Minister Views Possible Food Shortage

LD2501111093 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1103 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 25 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia might face food shortages in the second half of the year if the international embargo was not lifted, Federal Trade Minister Branko Maricic has said in an interview to the Belgrade daily BORBA.

The unheard-of drought last summer decimated the crops of all agricultural plants. The Yugoslav province of Vojvodina recorded the loss of over 450 million dollars, and the state bought less than a half of the last year's wheat crops which might cause bread shortages in the cities.

Maricic said the Yugoslav market at present "has relatively sufficient food supplies," with a declining offer of textile, leather footwear, house appliances, cosmetics and similar consumption goods.

In late May last year, the U.N. Security Council imposed severe political and economic sanctions on the F.R. Yugoslavia because of its alleged involvement in the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Maricic said Yugoslavia was to face a price explosion, after entering 1993 with the inflation rate of 291.3 percent.

In 1992, Yugoslavia held the world's record in price rises with 19,810 percent.

Government Denies Electoral Irregularities

LD2201180793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1729 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, Jan. 22 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government strongly rejects the accusations that the standards of the CSCE (Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe) were not observed at the December parliamentary elections, Vice Premier Radoje Kontic stated on Friday [22 January].

He told a news conference after a government session on Friday that CSCE observers' reports on the elections were "tendentious."

Kontic said that "major implications of these reports could not be negated" because the reports could seriously affect the stands of certain CSCE member countries towards the recently-elected authorities in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (F.R.Y.).

The Federal Government, said Kontic, had not denied the existence of certain irregularities in the election procedure, as may be seen from the fact that the elections were repeated at some of the polling stations. This fact, however, also showed that the official organs reacted in all the cases when unequivocal infringements were ascertained, Kontic added.

He mentioned that virtually all the election results were accepted by political parties for they also accepted the mandates.

A government announcement on Friday said that "by rejecting a report of the CSCE observer mission" the government reaffirmed its "reiterated concern and readiness for the continued enforcement of the CSCE provisions and principles and fulfilment of the ensuing obligations."

"The government expected that the constructive and cooperative stance of the F.R.Y. (Federal Republic of Yugoslavia) would be accepted, and a decision on the suspension of its representatives from the CSCE activities abolished," said the announcement.

The suspension of Yugoslavia from the CSCE was only part of the rigorous and comprehensive sanctions imposed by the United Nations on Yugoslavia on May 30 because of its alleged involvement in the ethnic war in the adjacent ex-Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Panic Discusses Political Situation

AU2601121993 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 19 Jan 93 p 7

[Interview with Milan Panic, Prime Minister of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, by Slobodan Pavlovic

in Washington; date not given: "Batteries Recharged, the Battle for Democracy Continues"]

[Text] Prime Minister Panic's appearance reflects the fact that for three weeks, he has been spared the Belgrade post-electoral and Assembly pressure. He says that his break in California has refreshed him, he has recharged his batteries, and he would be feeling even better had he not spent a lot of time on the phone "to hear how things were developing over there."

In any case, refreshed and ready for new challenges, he arrived in Washington two nights ago, as one of those invited to the inauguration ceremony of the new American president to take place tomorrow. He says that this will be a three-day visit in this city of the kind he is not used to: Last night he was to have a brief meeting with Vice President Gore at his reception, today he has a meeting with State Department Under Secretary Nile, tomorrow he is to be a guest at Clinton's "inauguration breakfast" - after which, on the grandstand in front of the Congress building, he will be a direct witness when the 42d President of the United States takes his oath.

In between, if the festive atmosphere in Washington allows it, he will try to have some real talks with the members of the new administration on Capitol Hill. On Thursday [21 January], he leaves for New York to talk to UN high officials, and then, by way of Copenhagen and Geneva, he returns to Belgrade.

After New York, the prime minister plans to have a meeting with his Danish colleague, the current chairman of the EC. In Geneva, he is to talk to the cochairman of the Conference on Yugoslavia, Cyrus Vance. However, the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina worries him, he expects that the Pale Assembly [skupstina na Palama] will accept the Geneva agreement, but he is afraid of what is to follow.

[Panic] It is not enough to just sign the agreement and then to continue in the old way. The agreement must be realized.... And the Muslims are also trying to thwart this in any way they can. You see, now they have bombed that hydroelectric power plant across the border.

[Pavlovic] So, the tour of the "flying ambassador" is under way. You have accepted Cosic's invitation to take on this duty?

[Panic] They asked me, and they answered in my name! I understand, it is necessary to calm the situation after these elections.... And I got more votes than that entire Radical Party!

[Pavlovic] What do you expect of the talks in Belgrade? Are you going to clear up some things with Cosic concerning everything that happened or....?

[Panic] No, there is nothing to clear up. As you recall, we had this big campaign with which we tried to change the political system. We know how this went and how it ended.

[Pavlovic] It is still not over. Now they have started attacking Cosic in the same way they once attacked you.

[Panic] Of course, this is part of the old system that must be stopped. Seselj and his lot are attacking BORBA along with everyone else who does not think like they do. I have already said this: He talks like a Nazi, he behaves like a Nazi, he works like a Nazi, he threatens with his gun like a Nazi, he labels people like a Nazi—therefore, he must be a Nazi! What he is doing in Serbia today is what the Nazis used to do in Germany. Now he is accusing others of being traitors, whereas I think he is the biggest traitor of all, a misfortune and a disgrace to the Serbian people.

[Pavlovic] How can you then cooperate with such people, if, for example, tomorrow Seselj is elected president of the Serbian Government or something similar?

[Panic] I will never cooperate with him! Absolutely not.... I cannot cooperate with Nazis. I am an anti-Nazi. I do not believe in their system. I am a democrat.

[Pavlovic] Will you say this to Cosic in Belgrade?

[Panic] Of course. Cosic said the same thing to me. He told me that he, too, did not want to cooperate with him. You heard that they have already had their first conflict.... I am not interested in such people. I will cooperate with anyone who is civilized, who behaves at least a little democratically. I do not expect them to become French or English democrats overnight, but I cannot accept that someone behaves as he does.... And this then serves as an example to others, so everybody starts behaving in the same way and creating an atmosphere of political lynch. That is communism, it is fascism—and I do not believe in this. I believe that things in our country must change, and I hope to be the one to do it. I have already taken steps in that direction, they know it, and that is why they have jumped on me. They think that I will run away, but I will not run away and that is why I am going to Belgrade!

[Pavlovic] Does this mean that you are joining forces with the opposition, like you said after the elections? Does it mean that you will live in Belgrade?

[Panic] That will depend on my other responsibilities. I will most probably live in Belgrade and California. In any case, I will head those that want to change that system, for as long as it takes. Actually, Seselj and his lot are worse than the Socialists. My attitude is clear in every respect; I have never tried to hide this—from politics and democratization, economy and privatization, to international positions.

[Pavlovic] The interview then turned toward affairs that are Panic's profession. He hopes that "Galenika" [Serbian pharmaceutical plant] will not have problems as a result of everything that has been happening to him. He stresses that since pharmaceuticals are not included in the UN sanctions, the business "should not suffer." He confirms the statements from a recent article in the

"WALL STREET JOURNAL" that his pharmaceutical plant, "ACN," had gone through some bad moments because of its takeover of "Galenika" because "Galenika" comes from a country whose regime has been accused of aggression and genocide.

[Panic] We had some very serious problems because of this. The stock market reacted sharply, "ACN" stock began to fall, which was not good for "Galenika" or for Yugoslavia. However, the situation has now been stabilized. On 26 January, I am signing a contract with the Russians to take over their large pharmaceutical plant in St. Petersburg, through which I hope to clinch some very big deals. This plant is something like "Galenika," only its production is larger. However, the Russians are not under sanctions, and we are hearing from many interested parties who want to invest money into this project. We also have a plant in Hungary.... My goal is to work in the eastern countries, but I am having the biggest problems in my own country.

[Pavlovic] Although work is Panic's life, he has developed a passion for politics that he cannot resist any more. This is why during this conversation, he speaks with bitterness about the completely irregular elections. He mentions a "theft of not 10 or 15 percent, but of 90 percent".

[Panic] Now they have the gall to say that this is what the people wanted and that they can now decide about the future of these people.

[Pavlovic] Explaining why, since the elections were irregular, he congratulated Milosevic on his victory and gave him legitimacy before the people and the world, the prime minister said that "unlike them" he acted in a civilized and gentlemanly way in an effort to cool down the overheated atmosphere.

[Panic] It was my desire to initiate normal relations, just like here [the United States] and in the rest of the normal world. But, along with the congratulations, which were an expression of goodwill on my part, I also told him to resign after such elections!.... And now, if the opposition in Belgrade wants me, all they have to do is ask, and I will put myself at their disposal. The people can be sure that I will do this and that I will not run away. Democratization must take place and the sooner this happens, the better it will be for all—for our people, our country, our economy. For everything!

Government Adopts New Country Symbols

LD2201165393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1529
GMT 22 Jan 93

["Pool" Item]

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 22 (TANJUG)—The new Yugoslav coat of arms will be a red shield shown against a silver two-headed eagle, the Federal Government decided on Friday [22 January].

The government accepted a proposal of its commission which also specified the eagle having golden beaks, tongues and claws, with a shield in the centre having four fields containing the coats of arms of the Federal Republics, Serbia and Montenegro.

The Government also decided to start a procedure to amend the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to confirm that the country's new national banner will be a tricolour having horizontal stripes of red, blue and white.

The Yugoslav flag now is a blue-white-red tricolour. The old six-member Federation of Yugoslavia had the same tricolour plus a five-pointed star in its centre.

Both members of the current Federation of Yugoslavia now have the same red-blue-white banners.

Legal Aspect of Professional Army Functioning

93BA0463D Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 10
Dec 92 p 6

[Speech by Lieutenant Colonel General Ljubomir Domazetovic delivered in the Federal Assembly; date not given: "The Legal Prerequisites of a Strong Defense"]

[Text] *The proposed version of the law on the Army of Yugoslavia [VJ] was taken up last week in a joint session of the committees for defense and security of the Federal Assembly, consistent with the procedure envisaged for enactment of federal laws. Lieutenant Colonel General Ljubomir Domazetovic spoke as representative of the government, and we publish his speech in its entirety.*

Seven months after adoption of the FRY [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] Constitution (27 April 1992), the proposed version of the Law on the Army of Yugoslavia, which has been adopted in a session of the FRY Government, is being presented in Assembly procedure.

The main point of departure for adoption of this law is Section 8, Articles 133 through 138, of the FRY Constitution. It covers the army briefly, but also with sufficient clarity: The army is an independent constituent element of society whose organization, life, work, behavior, material supply, and financing, as well as command and control, are regulated by a specific Law on the Army of Yugoslavia. The law must in all respects rely on the FRY Constitution; that is, all legislative arrangements must derive from it. Aside from the Constitution, as far as the army is concerned, there is no other law that is prior to the Law on the Army of Yugoslavia.

Radical Changes in Organization and Relations

The Law on the Army of Yugoslavia comprehensively covers all the subject matter previously regulated in six federal laws:

- 1) Law on Nationwide Defense;
- 2) Law on Service in the Armed Forces;
- 3) Law on the Military Obligation;

- 4) Law on Old-Age and Disability Insurance of Military Insureds;
- 5) Law on Health Insurance of Military Insureds; and
- 6) Law on the Family Supplement.

The new Law on the Army of Yugoslavia envisages radical changes in the organization and relations in the Army of Yugoslavia. Changes in the organization of the army have been carried out, and the army has been made capable of performing its constitutional function.

Following the conduct of three wars and creation of the army in Krajina and the Serbian Republic, the Army of Yugoslavia was created in a very short time.

In terms of organization and mobilization, the army has been given the capability, and this is an immense job, of becoming a powerful force in the shortest period of time, one that can successfully oppose aggressors against Yugoslavia.

The radical reorganization of the Army, which is dictated by the Constitution, has also affected and radically altered the organization and role of the former Federal Secretariat for National Defense, which commanded the army. The new solution is to form a unified defense ministry to meet the needs of society's defense affairs and to create the General Staff of the Army of Yugoslavia as an independent body to meet the needs of command of the army. The Army of Yugoslavia is commanded in wartime and peacetime by the president of the republic in keeping with the decisions of the Supreme Defense Council, through the General Staff of the Army of Yugoslavia, according to the principles of command of the Army.

I have a duty to emphasize that there neither is, nor could there be, any act or action outside the army which falls outside the limits of the prescribed command principles, which might be adopted by any other body of the federation which does not have jurisdiction, which would be carried out in the Army of Yugoslavia.

What the Law Does and Does Not Regulate

The new law regulates the following in new and feasible ways:

- 1) organization of the Army;
- 2) service in the Army, which includes:
 - replenishment and mobilization of the Army;
 - conduct of personnel policy in the Army;
 - relations in the Army and money income;
 - leave and absences;
 - responsibility of military and civilian personnel in the army;
- 3) social security in the Army;
- 4) the military obligation;
- 5) punitive, transitional, and final provisions.

On behalf of the FRY Government, as its representative, I emphasize that the FRY Government, in examining and adopting the draft of the Law on the Army of Yugoslavia, also adopted the decision that this law should also contain legislative provisions such as Title 18, Section V: On Disposition and Management of Resources for Military Purposes and Handling of Physical and Financial Resources in the Army. However, in the final editing, against the decision of the government, that text was omitted from the law, so that on the one hand a decision of the government has been violated, while on the other the Army of Yugoslavia has been seriously damaged. No new law on this subject matter will be adopted for another two years, and it is not possible to operate under the old laws because of the radical changes that have already been carried out in the Army of Yugoslavia.

In approving the draft of the Law on the Army of Yugoslavia, the FRY Government was unable to concur in certain objections of the Army of Yugoslavia which had to do with the broad powers of the Defense Ministry vis-a-vis the army and the General Staff of the Army of Yugoslavia. The government has been explicit that the law on the army should retain the powers of the Defense Ministry and defense minister as originally given, although there is not a word about this in the FRY Constitution.

Depoliticization, Transformation, Professionalism...

We tried in the content of the proposed version of the law to regulate only relations which need to be regulated by the law, and we left regulation of the manner in which those relations are conducted to be dealt with in sublegal regulations. Likewise, the proposed provisions regulate only relations suitable for normative regulation, leaving aside regulations that fall within the private sphere of individuals serving in the Army of Yugoslavia. In addition, the new provisions remove certain restrictions on the rights of persons serving in the Army of Yugoslavia and which contribute to the better functioning of the military organization.

All provisions of an ideological nature that were contained in the statutes in effect have been removed from the text of the proposed version of the law, which is in keeping with the commitment to complete depoliticization of the Army of Yugoslavia.

The proposed arrangements create the legal prerequisites for transformation of the Army of Yugoslavia into an up-to-date armed force, intended for and capable of consistent performance of the constitutional function of protecting the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, and constitutional order of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

The functioning of the Army of Yugoslavia would be based on a highly professional officer corps, civilians serving in the army, and a number of professional soldiers, who together would make up the nucleus of the army, which would be able to carry out all the tasks of

defense. This concept of the army is based on precisely and completely definite rights and obligations of all its members, presupposing only the necessary restrictions imposed by the specific nature of military service. All the arrangements proposed in the proposed version of the law, then, are aimed at guaranteeing harmonious and effective functioning of the Army of Yugoslavia.

Transformation to Professional Army Slow

93BA0463C Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 10
Dec 92 p 13

[Article by M. Pantelic: "Professionals Do Not Count on Luck"]

[Text] Because of its specific nature and the nature of its job, of course, the Danube Border Detachment is a small team of hand-picked soldiers and officers that is doing its job as it was ordered and as the peculiarity of the job requires, for the present, up to now, and in the future, in which its interservice collaborators, both enlisted men and officers, agree and back it up. This is impressive because part of the difficulties of the transformation of the Army of Yugoslavia [VJ] is being put on its shoulders, but still more because of the conditions, the environment, and the atmosphere in which it lives and works. The population, which is mainly made up of Serbs and Wallachians, is particularly grateful for the tranquillity assured them.

Indissoluble Connections

The people follow the work of the border guards closely and objectively. That, after all, is the only way in which the inhabitants of Prahovo and the workers of the Djerdap 2 Hydroelectric Power Plant were able to intervene, with right on their side, to obtain the return to the Kusak Patrol, stationed in their region, of its commander, Captain 1st Class Boza Marelj, a legend from the Lika battlefield and the territory which his border sector guards, something which quite easily might have happened because of certain lapses in the superior command.

The people stick by the army, and that applies to the detachment's entire zone, which covers several hundred kilometers of the national boundary with Romania which is entirely a water boundary, even when it is carrying out its actual tasks of guarding the border. Together, they have discovered and apprehended persons who have crossed the border illegally, especially in earlier years, when there were many more reasons to come to Yugoslavia. In Veliko Gradiste and Kladovo Opstinas, the army was granted land for a target range and housing for the border guards under very favorable conditions, and cooperation has been almost without problems in all the others as well, especially when it comes to supply, because in this connection it is possible for some difficulty to arise in the payment of bills, and they have jointly been caring for refugees as well, as is the case in Veliko Gradiste, where there are about 400 of

them. The amount of cooperation has diminished somewhat with the socially owned firm Nata Dugosevic in the village Dobra, for objective reasons, of course, but contacts between the detachment's command, the offices of the sector, and its director, Ljubisa Mistic, have not ceased, and it is expected that the present connection—which is maintained by the production of 30,000 soldiers' belts, which runs until the end of the year, will early in the next year return to its earlier volume and assortment.

Unexpected Interest

The region between the points where the Pek and the Timok enter the Danube is very rich; according to Capt. 1st Class Dusan Novovic, the commander's assistant for morale, it could feed all of Serbia. Many of its inhabitants are abroad. The Danube is munificent. And the men gladly go off to soldier! They are not greedy, that is, for wages, at least not all of them, because on the fertile black soil, the blue Danube, and in local enterprises their solid livelihood is assured. Half of the number needed for the detachment applied for the competition, and half of them have already concluded contracts; for some, the first contract, concluded for six months, is about to expire. The response has been particularly good in the Kladovo border sector, whose commanding officer is Capt. 1st Class Aca Petrovic, where the quota for soldiers under contract was met at 100 percent. In Kusak, the richest village in a region that itself is rich, the average has been between five and 10 candidates for each vacancy for a contract position with the guard patrol. In other patrol areas—Donji Milanovac, where the commander is Capt. 1st Class Radojica Jokic, and the Tekija Patrol, with Capt. 1st Class Mladen Pijevcevic, there has not been such a rush of applicants for the competition, and not so many soldiers were enrolled under contract. Nor is there any need to hurry, they say, because they want to do this job thoroughly and in an orderly fashion, to choose whenever they can men who will not only meet the requirements of the moment and the garrison, but in all respects will be a model for soldiers serving required military service and in the reserves, as well as to one another. It is better, Capt. Marelj says, to have 10 true men than 50 who are not.

Another reason why they are not hurrying in replacing people in the detachment with professionals is that they know that this new institution in the new army still has not been altogether set on its feet. The officers know that all the applicants to sign contracts are not enthusiasts, but the great majority of them see the army, especially when the situation in civilian life offers nothing better at the present, as a permanent source of security for their family, and who do not care if at the end of their contract, nine years later as things now stand, they are again registered with employment security agencies in trades which they have almost entirely forgotten. In that way, after all, instead of an army of those who are now enthusiasts and loyal, we make an army of discontents and opponents. But if, the officers and professional soldiers hope, that contract should last 20 to 30 years,

and offer the opportunity, which they also hope, for schooling on the job to qualify as noncommissioned officers and some of them even commissioned officers, then professionalization of our army, although, as we have said, we are mere pioneers in this matter, will go forward and will proceed better than we even hoped. Nor are they indifferent as to what uniform they will wear, so that that job, which is now under way, is another one that needs to be speeded up.

And that vacuum between the definitive legislative definition of professionalization and what is expected of members of the border detachment in the specific job of the border, especially when it is difficult to get men to serve in the army and reserves, falls hardest on those who serve at the most salient point of the homeland. Because they can perform their service, as it is understood to be, only on the water (our part of the Danube)—for which they have neither enough vessels nor personnel, nor on the other hand do they have enough motor vehicles nor, once again, personnel. It is great good fortune, of course, in addition to the good training and professional competence of the border guards, that so far there have been no deaths, not even injuries to the soldiers. But we cannot go on trusting to luck indefinitely.

Problems of Professional Army Viewed

93BA0463B Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Dec 92 p 24

[Article by Dr. Zivota Radosavljevic: "Professionalization: Are We on the Right Track"]

[Text] Professionalism is one of the basic characteristics of present-day business systems, military systems, political systems, and other systems. Contrasted with amateurism, it implies a high degree of professional competence, knowledge, ability, and quality in the conduct of affairs.

The Army of Yugoslavia [VJ] is an organization which must function on foundations of professionalism. That is why the question is being asked of whether the process of transformation of the Army has been authentically initiated and are the changes taking place in the main directions? This question is not without basis, and it should be approached from this professional standpoint.

When we speak about professionalization in the Army of Yugoslavia, it seems that there is no disagreement, but a deeper analysis shows that there are problems in both theory and practice. First of all, numerous activities are performed in the Army according to the laws of the profession, with a minimum of specific aspects that have to do with military organization. For example, health care, the handling of finances, transportation, technical supply and maintenance, the use of information systems are actually professions which have their own algorithms. Which is, of course, natural, because health care is the same in the military organization and in civilian life, just as economy in any organization comes down to cost management. The conclusion can be drawn from the

fact stated above that the Army of Yugoslavia needs first of all top-flight specialists, and good soldiers come second. Giving priority to other elements would signify creation of a nonprofessional organization, such as we had until recently in the JNA [Yugoslav People's Army].

In addition, each of these professions should have its own system of schools in which military subjects would be worked in more or less to the extent required in the Army by the specific aspects of every profession. With this in mind, there is no justification from the standpoint of professionalization for reducing the previous six military schools to two: the Military Service Academy and the Military Engineering Academy. The reduction to such a small number of military schools or academies creates a situation in which only this or that is taken from each profession, and that destroys its integrity. Instead of creating specialized educational institutions that would guarantee that every activity is professional, we are generalizing and consolidating the school system, which has an adverse effect on the professional aspect.

In addition to what we have mentioned, there is also good reason from the professional standpoint to have experts in the Army of Yugoslavia from civilian universities who would get their military education by way of supplemental military schooling.

Professional Soldiers

A large step has been taken now that professional soldiers are recruited into the Army of Yugoslavia. However good this might be, it is not enough. Professionalism requires not only the removal of ideological features; it also presupposes the lengthy, strenuous, and uninterrupted work of all members of the military organization, above all study and the acquisition of new knowledge. Analyses of various components of the system and practical solutions show that they tend to detract from the professional aspect.

Thus, an important question from the standpoint of professionalization is whether shortening the period of required military service (from 12 months to 10) is not a direct threat to the professional level of future soldiers? The dilemma is not without basis, because it is well-known that greater professionalization also requires a longer time for training and drills and accumulation of experience. One of the reasons for increasing the period of study in medical school from 10 to 12 semesters was the demand for a higher professional standard in that field. The criteria applied to screening civilians when vacancies for enlisted men are being filled might also be criticized. The criteria are frequently below the standard required by that strenuous and complex profession. Thus, a third or fourth level of professional training is required of a commissioned officer, but the minimum required of enlisted men is graduation from elementary school. In addition, there is a minimum requirement that a person competing for a particular post has completed his training or elementary school with at least a grade of good [3 or C]. Does that not mean that in a

world where professionalization is being scientized, we are still guided by low standards which professional armies have abandoned long ago? With such low requirements, it is difficult to build a professional army in the meaning given to the term by the contemporary world.

When it comes to screening for enrollment in the military organization, priority is frequently given without good reason to the physical component and sometimes even the health component as compared to a candidate's intellectual abilities. Military service is difficult and responsible, but in the era of automation and computerization, state of health is not the primary criteria for a large number of military specialties, and it should not be given particular emphasis, but should be taken for granted. In most professions for enlisted men, preference should be given to knowledge, that is, intelligence, ability, and intellectual maturity of people enrolled in military service, and only afterward the other components, aside from those professions which truly seek physically strong and tough individuals.

Professional and Scientific Literature

High professionalism also requires a corresponding specialized, scientific and specialized literature, journals, bulletins, etc. In accordance with what we have said, every field should have its own literature. A more precise analysis of present practice indicates that not enough attention is being paid to this element, as confirmed by the new military interservice journal that has been established. This cannot contribute to professionalization of the various fields. The discontinuation of journals we have had up to now, such as VOJNI GLASNIK [MILITARY HERALD], MORNARICKI GLASNIK [NAVAL HERALD], GLASNIK RV I PVO [AIR FORCE AND AIR DEFENSE HERALD], INFORMATOR, POZADINA [REAR], and others, generalizes the military profession and does not contribute to advancement of the various fields.

The existing journals and others should be fundamentally adapted to the new requirements of professionalization. They ought not to be abolished. This is natural, because it is quite certain that an economist needs a journal dealing with military economics instead of one that will cover interservice problems. This will do great harm, because today the most recent knowledge is not to be found in books, but in journals, that is what people are discussing in seminars and symposiums. The saving on journals causes great harm, because it is well-known that "from the same flower the bee gathers honey and the bumble bee poison."

The conclusion can be drawn from what we have said that there are numerous dilemmas requiring that we answer the question: Are we really on the right track in our transformation?

Issue of Army Transformation Discussed

93BA0463A Belgrade VOJSKA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Dec 92 p 20

[Response of M. Krstic to the interview with Lieutenant Colonel General Rade Polic, chief of the Administration for Operational Affairs of the VJ [Army of Yugoslavia] General Staff, by Nikola Ostojic, published in VOJSKA, 12 November: "To Guarantee the Security of the Citizens"]

[Text] The interview with Lieutenant Colonel General Rade Polic, chief of the Administration for Operational Affairs of the VJ [Army of Yugoslavia] General Staff, by Nikola Ostojic on transformation of the Army of Yugoslavia motivated me to think about this more deeply.

Because Lt. Col. Gen. Polic presented in his statement a clear and concise coverage of the problems faced by the Army of Yugoslavia and also those it will face in the subsequent transformation, problems that will be debated lastingly, I felt the need, motivated by this topic, to become involved in these reflections as a well-meaning participant. This does not mean that I am criticizing what has been published in VOJSKA; rather I think that it was an authentic, meaningful, pithy, and clearly presented outline of the extremely urgent topic of transformation of the Army of Yugoslavia, on which an entire book could be written.

That is why I will present my opinion on several issues which I consider very essential concerning the overall transformation of the Army of Yugoslavia. That is, I have found that in the new approach there is not enough talk about patriotism as one of the essential components of transformation of the Army of Yugoslavia. In my opinion, the topic of patriotism should not be skirted. Patriotism is an essential part of every military doctrine as the body of all historical sentiments and love for the homeland, as a spiritual and moral value of the people, which must be continuously developed and extolled. I think that developing patriotism must have a very important educational role in transformation of the Army of Yugoslavia.

The second question, which is also of particular importance in transformation of the Army, is doctrine, concerning which Gen. Polic presented certain essential positions, especially in the sentence: "The most important changes have to do with establishing the general doctrinal positions and commitments and to the drafting of normative acts in keeping with the objective requirements of defense of the country...." I think that it is difficult to offer a definition of doctrine, as evidenced by the differing explanations in the *Vojna Enciklopedija* (Military Encyclopedia). Because every country develops and rounds out its own doctrine according to its own strategic plans, in all fields, but particularly in the military field, I think that it should also cover the economy, the defense industry and peacetime industry (so that it might be transformed as soon as possible to the needs of war under wartime conditions), and scientific

and technical achievements.... Doctrine, then, is the sum total of all the structural segments that fit primarily in military strategy, including religious and philosophical convictions.

It is well-known that doctrines may vary in nature; from the standpoint of military strategy, they may be defensive, expansionist-aggressive, or conceived with some other purpose. Thus, the doctrine of the great powers today is aimed at establishing the new world order, which on the territory of the former Yugoslavia is being realized in the form of a regional conflict directed toward the objective of altering the political-geographic picture and of realizing economic and other interests. But that is only a deceptive picture. The real interest of the great powers, expressed in their doctrine, is deeply concealed in their respective intentions, as they build the new world order, to collaborate with one another and bargain concerning interests.

That is why the doctrines of the great powers are kept in the strictest secrecy.

However, everything is changing, and so in time doctrines also change and conform to the new conditions that have come about. That is why a study of the military literature and the data in the archives can help or becloud the true nature of the doctrines of the various countries. I think it is a very essential thing for us to be quite familiar with the doctrines of the great powers and particularly with the doctrines of the states which surround us.

When it comes to depoliticization of the Army, it is certain that the Army of Yugoslavia and the police must be depoliticized. But we have to clearly define what that depoliticization means; this must be the knowledge of every citizen, every political party, and all the structures of society. Especially because the role of the army and the police must be clearly defined when there is a sharp polarization of political entities, which could result in irreconcilable disagreements in which democratic forms are ignored in the display of political positions and demonstrations are used, the freedom of assembly, gathering, and agreement and other lawful acts are abused in the struggle to pursue political interests.

I understand that that is mostly a political and governmental issue. Such issues must be resolved mainly through the action of the president of the Republic and the law-governed state. As far as I know, that is, if political relations should become tense and a state of crisis come about, there is no legal procedure that would guarantee the country's citizens security and safety over the entire territory of the state. If such decisions have not been made, they must be made immediately.

Measures To Prevent 'Brain Drain'

93BA0496B Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 23 Dec 92 p 11

[Article by Stanko Stojiljkovic: "How To Hold On to Young Specialists"]

[Text] The warning of the federal minister for science, technology, and development, almost like a cry in the wilderness, to the effect that our country has this year lost 1,000 people engaged in research, is resounding like a final SOS. According to Dr. Vlastimir Matejic, professor, the loss amounts to \$2.5 billion! Next year, it is estimated, about 2,000 specialists, mainly young in age, will join that "river of no return."

What should and can be done?

The other day a resolution was published on Yugoslavia's policy for scientific and technological development that should soon be adopted by the Federal Assembly, unless we are overtaken by dramatic events. The cornerstone on which future development must be based is knowledge. Science and technology have a key role in social, economic, and cultural progress and the development of civilization everywhere in the world, so why should that not also be the case in our country?

Science—Yes or No?

"This policy is being adopted for the long term, but implementing plans are to be adopted every year," explains Dr. Vlastimir Matejic, professor. "There is a long list of doubts and troubles we face, among which I will enumerate the most important: the detachment of the sector of scientific research, its low level of utilization, the unfavorable environment, and so on. In adopting this document, it is not our intention to compete with anyone, but to cooperate."

We have to make a commitment once and for all: Is this society going to be based on science or not? That is why a meeting in the near future is being proposed between distinguished scientists and business executives, where it will be stated loud and clear that there will neither be survival nor improvement without new knowledge. Up to now, we have largely been living in utopia, neither science nor technology have been able to break away very far. Many countries have moved ahead of us although earlier they looked at our back.

A particular stimulus to implementation of scientific and technological policy will come from the 10 national programs for which 0.366 percent of the country's social product is being proposed in the coming year. It is, of course, expected that the republics and enterprises will also invest, and the upper limit will be 0.75 percent. What are those programs?

They are as follows in sequence: basic research (lasting at least one year, but no more than four years, but with the possibility of extension after verification and assessment), technological research, humanistic research, regional innovation programs, the public research infrastructure, advanced training of researchers ("100 government scholarship-holders"), our people abroad ("the brain drain"), international cooperation, government projects (to meet the needs of the Federal Assembly and Federal Government), and the climate for innovation (development of an innovative society).

Foreign Advisers

"Scientific programs (the subject, the scope of the research, the duration, the number of researchers, and so on) are approved and adopted by the federal ministry on the recommendation of the Alliance for Scientific and Technological Policy," Dr. Vlastimir Matejic, professor, emphasizes. "To take part in carrying out the programs one must have a government license. Changes in ownership will be carried out under sponsorship of the program for the public research infrastructure, respecting the basic principle that nothing should be public if it can be private."

A maximum of 0.75 percent of the social product will be allocated from the budget of the Federal Government to the Federal Fund for Scientific and Technological Development, and the money will be used to maintain the 10 national programs. The manner of use, and rights and obligations will be set forth in a law. Exemption from customs duties and import charges is being proposed for equipment, devices, chemicals, components, materials, software, and other things used in scientific research. Enterprises will be stimulated to increase the share of domestic knowledge and to sell it on the world market.

One innovation will be the council of the Federal Government for scientific and technological development, made up of prestigious domestic and foreign scientists, whose members include the prime minister, the minister of science, 10 foreigners, and 12 Yugoslavs. It is chaired by the federal prime minister. The Council for Scientific and Technological Policy is a similar body.

The Federal Government, as in many other countries, must have a strong role in development. The new scientific and technological policy signifies the first step on the "long journey to Europe."

[Box, p 11]

Loss of 12 Billion

Counting researchers who previously left the country, the economic loss amounts to \$12 billion. This includes the costs of education and at least 30 years of the social product that those people would have created and that has been lost.

Serbia**Milosevic Proposes Sainovic To Form Government**

AU2501141493 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1247 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Statement by President Slobodan Milosevic after taking the oath of office at the Serbian Assembly in Belgrade—live]

[Text] Esteemed People's Deputies: The difficulties facing our country must be a cause primarily for all the people in public office, and all the people of Serbia, to do

everything in their power for the good of their country and their people. I am convinced that this Assembly, in accordance with these aims and its responsibility, will behave to that effect during its mandate.

The policies I will promote have three main priorities: peace, economic development, and a clampdown on crime. Since it is a matter of policy and priorities in policies that has been supported by the majority of the people of our republic, I am sure that this People's Assembly will make its full contribution to the implementation of these policies. At the same time, I would like to stress—and I believe I share your views—that the transitional period until the new government is constituted should be as short as possible. That is why I do not wish to prolong that transitional period in any way and I will use this occasion to inform the Assembly about the proposal for mandating a person to form the new government. In accordance with the Constitution and the consultations I have had, I propose that the Assembly give Nikola Sainovic the mandate to form the new government.

Nikola Sainovic was born in Bor in 1948 and has enriched his academic education with his experience in the most responsible functions in the economy in the mining basin of Bor. As a prominent businessman and manager, he was minister for energy, industry and construction in the former government, and later deputy prime minister in this outgoing government.

I believe that the government formed by the new mandator will have your full support, all the more so since I would like to tell you that I have suggested to the mandator now and in previous contacts that, before he proposes the new government, he consult with all the representatives of the deputies' caucus and expect them to make their contribution by proposing the best candidates for the government. The mandator will then of course have the final say.

In any case, I hope that the approach to the formation of the new government, and its work from the very start, will be full of the spirit of mutual understanding and cooperation. I hope that it will also have the support of this Assembly. Allow me at the end to congratulate you all on being elected as people's deputies and to wish you much success in your work. Thank you. [applause]

Sainovic Urges 'Just Peace'

AU2501205493 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 25 Jan 93

["Exclusive" interview with Nikola Sainovic, Serbian prime minister designate, by Zeljko Avramovic in Belgrade on 25 January—recorded]

[Text] [Avramovic] Mr. Sainovic, what do you think about the fact that the president of the Republic of Serbia today asked you to form a new government?

[Sainovic] This represents great trust, even greater responsibility, and an exceptional obligation to the people and the state at this difficult moment.

[Avramovic] This trust in you was expressed at a time when our society is experiencing extremely complex social and economic circumstances. What are the key tasks as you see them, and what can the people expect from the new government?

[Sainovic] The main task is the realization of the policy of the Socialist Party of Serbia, which it campaigned on in the elections. In other words, this will be a struggle for a just peace in this region. In internal policy, this means a more efficient, capable, and rational state, civil peace, and law and order. In economic policy, this means the revitalization of production and development, and thus a better social situation.

[Avramovic] The people are, in fact, most interested in the economic policy.

[Sainovic] Of course. I am aware of the depth of the crisis in which we have found ourselves. I am also aware of Serbia's potential, which is not insignificant. It is due to our own capabilities that we have endured the extremely difficult sanctions and these circumstances in general. I am convinced that some of our capabilities have not been taken advantage of yet, and that if fully utilized we can, even under the current conditions, create more favorable social conditions.

[Avramovic] The people and, of course, the press, are interested to know what criteria will guide you, or, in other words, what kind of people will you be looking for to serve in your government.

[Sainovic] I will be, above all, looking for experts, as people would say. People who have expert knowledge about the areas they are entrusted with, and of course, something that is equally important, people who are energetic and ready to translate their knowledge into practice.

[Avramovic] Mr. Sainovic, we wish you much luck and success in the future.

[Sainovic] Thank you.

Belgrade Volunteers Fighting in Croatia

LD2501195493 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1240 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—The bureau of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK] receives about 300 requests daily from volunteers wanting to go to the Krajina battlefield. These are mainly veterans of other war campaigns and people originally from Krajina. Tanja Bulatovic, the bureau's spokesperson, revealed this today.

The response is improving, and we are satisfied with it, the bureau states. Volunteers can be registered in several

places throughout the city. The bureau says that they will not be paramilitary formations but will join regular RSK units.

Apart from visiting the RSK bureau, volunteers can also register with the Captain Dragan Fund, Arkan, the radicals [Serbian Radical Party], and the National Party.

The transport of volunteers presents the biggest problem due to shortages of petrol and lack of buses. So, any help from transport organizations is welcomed, the RSK bureau says.

Four Convoys Transporting Oil to Serbia

AU2501140993 Paris AFP in English 1357 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, Jan 25 (AFP)—Four Serbian river convoys were moving along the Danube Monday [25 January] in an attempt to transport oil to Serbia in breach of U.N. sanctions against former Yugoslavia.

The first convoy—a tug, the Bihac, plus six barges carrying 6,000 tonnes of oil—was expected Monday to reach Calafat-Vidin on the border between Romania and Bulgaria. If it continues its route, it could reach the Serbian border within 24 hours, according to Romanian authorities.

Three other convoys have followed the example of the first. The crews claimed the convoys were leaving the river ports in eastern Romania, where they had been held up for a month, to go toward Ukraine, but on Saturday they turned around and headed upstream in the direction of Serbia. By Monday, they had reached a stretch of the Danube which, for 500 kilometres (310 miles), marks the Romania-Bulgaria border, Romanian authorities said.

The crews of the four convoys have refused to stop despite repeated demands by customs officials. According to officials in Bucharest, Serbian crew members have threatened to set fire to their cargo if attempts are made to force them to stop.

"What we are doing now is monitoring them and we will not make any further attempts to stop them," Romanian border commander General Dumitru Luca said when the Bihac reached the Romanian port of Calarasi last Thursday.

The captains of the other three convoys are reported to have told port authorities in Braila, eastern Romania, on Saturday: "If the Bihac is going through, we are going to do the same."

The situation was called a "disturbing precedent," by one western diplomat close to the delegation sent to Romania by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) at the end of 1992 to help enforce the sanctions against the Federal Yugoslav Republic, which comprises Serbia and Montenegro. The rump

Yugoslavia has been blamed internationally for fomenting the fighting in former Yugoslavia.

The Romanian Transport Ministry has said use of force in such a situation would have to have United Nations Security Council approval.

The Western diplomat, who did not want to be named, said this was not the case. The diplomat said Resolution 787, approved by the Security Council on November 16, 1992, to strengthen the economic embargo imposed against the Yugoslav Republic in May 1992, "makes recourse to force altogether possible."

U.N. Resolution 757, approved on May 30, bans all imports or exports to or from the Federal Yugoslav Republic. It allows a possible exemption from the ban for medicines and food.

Resolution 787 said it was "incumbent upon river states to take the necessary measures to ensure traffic on the Danube" conformed to Resolution 757 and the 1991 Resolution 713, which imposes an arms embargo.

The resolution (787) refers to "measures appropriate to circumstances at the time" which might be required to stop supply vessels for cargo inspection, to check on their destination and "strictly apply the provisions of Resolutions 713 and 757."

The Bucharest authorities cite what they say is ambiguity in the wording of Resolution 787—an ambiguity recognised by numerous diplomats—and the "particular nature" of the cargo as reasons for their non-intervention. They said the situation was "complex and delicate," not least because the barges were carrying highly inflammable oil.

The Romanian authorities said last week that three of six Romanian vessels held for several weeks by Serbia in retaliation against Romania detaining Serbian boats had just been allowed to leave Serbia.

Media Carries Out 'Ideological Purge'

AU2501095793 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jan 93 p 6

[Report by Dj. Martić: "The Breach Between 'Hawks' and 'Semi-Pigeons'"]

[Text] "The purge among journalists that has been carried out recently in Serbian Television [RTS] by sending them on a so-called compulsory vacation used to happen only in dictatorial Latin American regimes," Milorad Jovanovic, new spokesman of the Democratic Party of Serbia [DSS] and RTS journalist said yesterday at this party's news conference. Jovanovic called the method by which it has been determined who goes on vacation "an ideological purge," and Nebojsa Jankovic, who is also a journalist of the RTS and now a parliamentary representative of the DSS, added that this is, actually, the "final phase of the purge." All the aggression that was until now imposed on the public from the

screen, has started to counteract within this powerful media that "is now eating its own children." "Those forces in the RTS that had striven at first to "win the media war," and later engaged themselves in "repairing our international image," are now having great troubles, and they can expect only a breakup. Conflicts will cause only a deepening of the already existing division into "hawks" and "semi-pigeons." The former have been supporting the policy of the radicals, and the latter that of the socialists. Now, after the Geneva turn toward peace, viewers can enjoy watching the speed with which people like Stefan Grubac, Krste Bijelic, or Ratko Dmitrovic will change lanes," Jankovic foresees.

Jankovic also said that many journalists whose names are not on the vacation list are ashamed of this fact. As an example he read the letter from Ivana Pribicevic, former editor of the radio broadcast "Curiosity Time." She sent a letter to her superiors voluntarily applying for her inclusion on the list, because she disapproves of their criteria of selecting people for it.

Mihailo Kovac, deputy chairman of the DSS and journalist of the RTS, said that the people listed are the best that can be found in all the RTS. He also said that the criteria of selecting them was a double-faced policy. "In circumstances when no one questions the political commitment of Milorad Crnjancin (member and representative of the Serbian Radical Party) and Ljiljana Jovanovic (until recently member of the Council of the same party), many people are sent on so-called compulsory vacation only because they have been politically active in other parties," Kovac concluded.

TV Officials Keep Silent

AU2501091793 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 12 Jan 93 p 9

[Unattributed report: "Vanguard of the Universal Darkness"]

[Text] In the Serbian Television building, next to the security guard's office, a computer has been installed with a list of people whose permits are still valid, and those who discover that they are not on the list have to return their permits and can enter the building only as guests.

So, that is the way that Cedomir Mirkovic, Mihailo Kovac, Danka Novovic, Ivan Brzev, Dragan Nikitovic, Jarmila Celovic and many others were dismissed. No one was officially informed about taking a compulsory vacation, the majority found it out in the newspapers. A similar situation occurred at the Radio Belgrade, where security guards, however, were kind enough to personally inform the people about "the news" in a subdued voice.

The exact number of the "temporarily dismissed" is unknown, except in the television technical service, where the members of the Independent Trade Union [NSRTS] secretly obtained the list of 227 selected

people. Among them is Lazar Lalic, chief engineer for First Channel relays, who was, on the other hand, recently told that he was "an indispensable component in that service."

Television reporters were not so clever, and as far as is known by now, their list comprises 105 people. Many of them have worked there for over 10, 15, or even 30 years. The majority of part-time correspondents have also been dismissed.

Some 50 journalists from the First Channel are on the list, and at the top are Rade Radovanovic, Slobodan Stupar, Olivija Rusovac, and Branislav Canak. In this round there have not been any dismissals in the Second Channel, because the outside correspondents were fired previously and the program scheme was entirely changed by discontinuing broadcasts like "No One Is Like Me," "The Green Megahertz," and "With Eyes Wide Open."

No official from Radio Television Serbia (RTS) addressed yesterday the people designated as superfluous, not even their editors. The issue of "differentiation" was handed over to the guards. The official trade union maintains that they were totally unaware of the issue. Dobrosav Bjeletic, director of the RTS, assumes no responsibility, saying that everything has bypassed him, and the head executive is having his regular vacation. His deputy cannot be reached, because "he must attend many meetings."

The Executive Board of the NSRTS that met yesterday decided that in view of such treatment the RTS must be collectively sued, and that the republic's inspectorate must at least temporarily terminate the removal of the permits. They will also employ a team of lawyers to defend the interests of all who have been dismissed.

The NSRTS recommended that they all continue to go to their offices, and, if they are not allowed to enter the building, to gather every day at noon in front of it.

The majority of journalists we talked to yesterday are not as surprised with their arbitrary dismissals, as with the manner of doing it. "They chase us as if we were stinking scabby dogs. I am afraid that this is the sign of a horrible darkness to follow," Danko Nikolic says. "There are no official decisions, our permits are invalid now, so if we are not at work for three days, they will also have an lawful justification for dismissing us. We are living somewhere between Kafka and Orwell," Milica Pesic says. Although they are prevented from carrying on their work, journalists stress that it is an honor to be on such a list. "Look at the names on it—I have never been in better company," Pesic claims.

Diesel Freight Trains Halted by Fuel Shortage

LD2201234793 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1637 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Jan (TANJUG)—Diesel freight trains ground to a halt at 1200 today in the area serviced

by the Belgrade railway transport organization due to a shortage of diesel. Cancellations of passenger trains can be expected from 1800 today. Maximum efforts are made to ensure long-distance transport, while local trains will run in accordance with the available supplies of diesel. The Serbian Government has been informed about the fuel problems.

Macedonia

Official Comments on Bid for UN Membership

LD2501223193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2052 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Text] Skopje, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—The Macedonian minister for relations with foreign countries, Denko Maleski, who returned to Skopje from a two-week visit to New York, told Macedonian TV this evening that the republican delegation succeeded in convincing UN officials to consider Macedonia's application for UN membership.

"Macedonia meets all conditions for membership, and we were told this also in talks with UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali," he said. According to Maleski, there is a political problem regarding Macedonia's application to become a UN member. "Greece created this problem, which has complicated Macedonia's position."

Maleski said it was not possible to predict with certainty how UN members would vote on Macedonian membership. It could be however assumed that the procedure would take longer than usual as a result of that political problem, he said.

Montenegro

Foreign Minister Discusses Cooperation With Italy

AU2601122993 Podgorica POBJEDA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jan 93 p 3

[Telephone interview with Montenegrin Foreign Minister Miodrag Lekic in Rome by J. Samardzic in Podgorica on 15 January: "Concrete Results"]

[Text] Podgorica, 15 Jan—A Montenegrin delegation headed by Foreign Minister Miodrag Lekic is currently visiting Italy. The visit has to do with the continuity of bilateral cooperation. Lekic accepted POBJEDA's proposal to talk to us over the phone from Rome and to inform us on the talks our delegation has held with the host country.

[Samardzic] Was any kind of concrete agreement reached during the talks in Bari?

[Lekic] In Bari, we signed contracts with the Italian partner concerning commercial import. These contracts will be passed on to the appropriate UN body. Moreover, according to information from the Italian Ministry of

Foreign Affairs, the second shipment of humanitarian help (food and medicine) should take place around 25 January. Apparently, the shipment is large in quantity. Around 45 trucks are needed to transport the shipment as far as Bari. Getting it as far as Bari is Italy's responsibility, and then we take over from there. We had agreed earlier that our ships were to be used for transporting the humanitarian help, so we made use of that. This will also be a chance for gradual normalization of traffic between Bari and Bar. After seven months, the ferryboat "Sveti Stefan" has once again arrived in the port of Bari. Minister Colombo personally intervened on behalf of a deblockade of marine traffic. In addition to this, during the talks in Puglia, our hosts stressed the necessity of maintaining good relations and especially the importance of realizing commercial projects agreed upon before the embargo: a joint project in the field of tourism, the cooperation between the ports Bari and Bar, the processing of oil, and the project of a joint radio company. The representatives of the local authorities in Puglia, who are constantly sending out positive signals in the direction of Rome, believe that once the sanctions are lifted, this cooperation could work out well.

[Samardzic] In Rome, you spoke to the general secretary of Italy's Foreign Ministry, Bruno Botti, because Colombo was away (he is visiting Paris). What did you discuss?

[Lekic] The talks in the Italian Foreign Ministry took place in a very friendly atmosphere. Botti expressed satisfaction regarding the last minute positive outcome of the Geneva negotiations. He stressed that after the negotiations and unlike the other ministers and diplomats who spoke threateningly, Colombo stressed the necessity of further diplomatic influence to ensure that the success achieved in Geneva continued. The general secretary of the Italian Foreign Ministry expressed satisfaction with the constructive contribution of Montenegro's president and the rest of the Yugoslav delegation. The continuity of the Geneva negotiations is important for our position on the level of bilateral relations. Our chances for cooperation with Italy are excellent, but if the Geneva negotiations are not a success, there is a chance of this cooperation coming to a complete halt. Therefore, it is necessary to make wise compromises. I once again stressed that Montenegro will continue to contribute to a fair solution. I stated my impression of the Italian media's biased attitude, and I will discuss this today with the editor-in-chief of the ANSA news agency and the representatives of Italian Television.

[Samardzic] Did you discuss earlier initiatives: the opening of a consulate, a cultural center, and the erecting of Njegos's [Petar Petrovic Njegos] bust in Rome?

[Lekic] The Italians still think these are good initiatives, but their realization will have to wait till after the embargo is lifted. This opinion was expressed by Botti in the course of our talk. As far as the erection of Njegos's bust in Borghese Park is concerned, the general secretary of the Italian Foreign Ministry believes that there is a

chance to organize this ceremony before the sanctions are lifted, but everything still depends on the fate of the Geneva negotiations.

Kosovo

Kosovo Albanian Delegation Leaves for Geneva

LD2501201093 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1332 GMT 25 Jan 93

[Excerpt] Pristina, 25 Jan (TANJUG)—A five-member delegation of Kosovo Albanians left for Geneva to hold talks on the Albanian language education, which are scheduled to start tomorrow, 26 January. The Democratic Alliance of Kosovo (DSK) confirmed this to TANJUG today. It is still not known whether the Yugoslav and Serbian education ministers and the Kosovo education secretary will attend the talks.

The Albanian delegation, comprising representatives of political parties and teachers' associations, is led by DSK Deputy Chairman Fehmi Agani. [passage omitted]

Vojvodina

Ethnic Hungarian Discusses Autonomy Prospects

AU2101160593 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 16 Jan 93 p 17

[Interview with Andras Agoston, chairman of the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians, by Anna Friedrich in Novi Sad; date not given: "The Basic Cells of Autonomy"]

[Text] According to the general opinion, the Democratic Union of Vojvodina Hungarians [VMDK] did extremely well at the Yugoslav federal, Serbian republic, and Vojvodina parliamentary elections held a few weeks ago. The VMDK achieved similar results at the local government elections as well. In an interview given to PESTI HIRLAP, VMDK Chairman Andras Agoston, in addition to evaluating the elections, also described the future opportunities of the Vojvodina Hungarians.

[Agoston] The VMDK is also satisfied with the election results. I think that the most important thing was that for the first time we succeeded in making the Vojvodina Hungarians support our autonomy concept. This was the first time that we used the autonomy as the election stakes. I think that the result according to which we have now more representatives on all levels shows that the voters accepted this concept. More Hungarians voted in the elections that expected. In Serbia, we received 3.6 percent of the votes, although Hungarians only make up 3.2 percent of the overall population there. The other reason for our good results is that we formulated and presented the VMDK goals clearly during the election campaign. We told everyone that we want autonomy, political subjectivity, independence, and partnership

with the Serbian state, as well as participation in the European processes as members of the Hungarian people.

[Friedrich] However, the Serbian political circles are accusing the VMDK of secession and continue to refuse to accept the autonomy concept.

[Agoston] We think that their claim of secession is a propaganda tool. We thought the same about the declarations of the minister in charge of national minorities of the Yugoslav Federation in which he also accused the VMDK of secession. Our autonomy formulation clearly delimits our demands, everything that the Hungarians living in Vojvodina expect. However, the Serbian Government is following the national idea. Although 33 percent of the overall population are not Serbs, they do not want to allow the national minorities to enjoy political subjectivity. This is a tough political struggle, and we think we have an advantage on the international arena. We are systematically participating in settling the open and unresolved problems of the Vojvodina Hungarians, and this is a European process. We say that we are waiting. We can wait, but we cannot give up.

[Friedrich] One often hears that the Serbs are simply afraid of the Hungarian autonomy and this is the reason for their refusal to accept it. What is your coexistence like under such conditions?

[Agoston] There are fears on both sides. We are for living side by side, and we do not propagate the idea of coexistence. We are for respecting each other and creating good relations by respecting each other and accepting the differences between us. This is what we expect from the other side too, because this can open the way to changes.

[Friedrich] In view of the attempts for territorial division among the various nations in the Bosnia-Herzegovina conflict, are they also advancing toward a solution similar to the one proposed by the VMDK here in Vojvodina?

[Agoston] I would not say that they apply this model, but I welcomed Vuk Draskovic's [head of opposition Serbian Renewal Party] opinion when he declared during his talks with Dobrica Cosic [FRY president] that he envisaged an autonomy for the Serbian villages in the Croatian and Muslim areas like the one enjoyed by the Croatian and Muslim villages in the Serbian areas, namely maximal rights for the Croatian and Muslim villages. This is a European concept.

[Friedrich] This civil war also brought up the fear of the so-called third colonization among the Vojvodina Hungarians, namely that Serbs would be settled in areas inhabited by Hungarians. Is this a realistic possibility?

[Agoston] We must definitely speak about both the autonomy concept and the settling concept in conjunction. According to international norms, an autonomy makes it possible to preserve the ethnic composition of an area, but the third colonization would lead to a deliberate change in the ethnic composition on the part of the Serbian Government. We can talk about such intentions, because how else can we explain the intention to settle 200 refugees in a school in Temerin, where 80 percent of the population are Hungarians. Is there no other place in the whole of Southern Bacska?

[Friedrich] Can we regard the fact that the VMDK won the majority in the local governments of the areas inhabited by Hungarians as an initial step toward autonomy?

[Agoston] We think that the VMDK-led local government bodies in villages with a Hungarian majority will make it possible to begin creating the forms of political cooperation that we also want to develop in the autonomy. This sounds too general, but we are only at the very beginning. First, we want to solve the issues of principle with which we can overcome the obstacles of the one-party system because we form the majority in Zenta, Ada, Kanizsa, and also in Szabatka and Topolya and, adjusting to the given situation, we are trying to work out methods here with which we can avoid the one-party system, and we can create the basic cells of autonomy.